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OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

NEW SERIES.

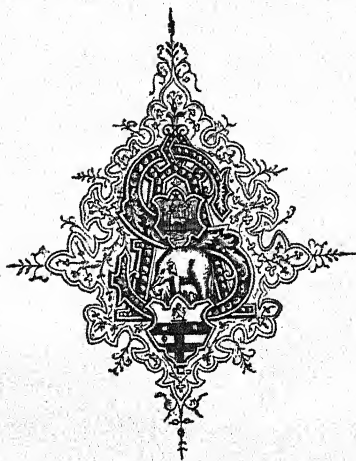


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[NEW SERIES.]

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E R R A T A.

- Page 312, line 4 from the bottom, for "Anáthapiṇḍaka" read "Anáthapiṇḍika."
- " 313, " 11, for "nátakānañ" read "ñátakānañ."
- " 315, " 12 from the bottom, for "of the race of Sakya" read "of the
Çákya race."
- " 317, " 10, for "vácá uda" read "vácáy' uda."
- " 318, " 7 and 15, for "bhutáni" read "bhútáni."
- " 322, " 4, for "anugamiko" read "anugámiko."
- " 324, " 20, for "viharam" read "viháram."
- " 325, " 17 from the bottom, for "sikkhapadam" read "sikkhápadam."
- " 335, " 2, for "Budhist" read "Buddhist."

JOURNAL



















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


Contributions towards a Glossary of the Assyrian Language.
BY H. F. TALBOT.











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











140. **Guza.** 𐎶-𐎶𐎶, a Throne.—Very frequent in the inscriptions. It always has the sign 𐎶, the determinative of “wooden objects,” prefixed to it. I believe it to be a mere dialectic variation of the Hebrew 𐤍𐤍 solium regium (etiam Dei.—Jerem. iii. 17). In *shurraṭ sarti-ya*, *sha as guza sarti rabish usibu*; *In the beginning of my reign, when I sat proudly on my royal throne.*—Obel. line 22. *Izpa u guza likim-su*; *Sceptre and throne may they take from him.*—R42, 73. *Guza abi-su*; *his father's throne.*—2R38, 32. *Guza billuti*; *throne of power.*—R39, 9. *Guza nimidi*; *a palanquin.*—R39, 36.
141. **Izpa.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, Sceptre.—I think that the syllable 𐎶𐎶 *iz* was sounded in this word, because it is also written 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *isshapa*. And I think that the sign for “wood” 𐎶 was purposely omitted because the word itself began with that sign, so that it was present by implication. *Nabo nasi izpa illuti*; *Nabo who carries the golden sceptre.*—Obel. line 11. *Tamikh izpa*; *holder of the sceptre.*—R14, 56. *Izpa isarti*; *the sceptre of justice.*—B.M. 38. 5. *Isshapa isarti usatmikh gatu-ya*; *he hath caused my hand to hold the sceptre of justice.*—E.I.H. i. 45. *Sha idinnam isshapa isarti*; *who has given me the sceptre of justice.*—E.I.H. iv. 19.

142. **Agu.**   , a Crown; *pl.* Agie,     .—
Agu raba sha reshdu-sha; *the great crown upon her head.*—
Slab K, 162. In 2 R 25, 23 and 44, 31,      is
explained by      *mir*, which is known to mean “a crown.”
Examples of the plural.—Agie belluti; *crowns of royalty.*—
R 8, No. 6, line 11. Nadin izpa u agie; *giver of sceptres and*
crowns.—Fig. i. 2.

In 2 R 38, 52 the images of Marduk and Zarpanita are adorned by the king with crowns of royalty (*agie belluti*) and crowns with lofty peaks? (*agie garni tsirati*).

143. **Agû.**      , a Crown.—This word is the same as the last; a mere change in the fashion of spelling in the time of Ashurbanipal. It occurs in a very curious passage in 2 R 38, 45, a prayer for the king's happiness: “Sha sar agû (*of the lord of the crown*), tami-su lu-ar(ka), (*may the days be long!*) shanati-su lirika, (*may his years be prolonged!*) bul-su as tuki lu-bullul, (*may he live his life in happiness!*) tsirrit shamie rapsuti libbita-su,—*the summit of high heaven may he behold (it)!* Sabita (*the seventh*) [the rest is lost or uncertain].” This remarkable passage evidently refers to a future life in heaven reserved for the king. For, having prayed for earthly felicity and length of life, the scribe now speaks of heaven; therefore no doubt he is asking for a heavenly life.

After the word *Sabita*          , *the seventh*, the tablet is broken; which is a pity, as perhaps the scribe was about to speak of “the seventh heaven.”

Some words in the above require explanation. *Arka*, Heb. ארך longus; *li-rika*, Heb. רחוק and Assyrian *ruku* longinquus, remotus. “Years” is written as usual       *Mu*, with a plural sign: this P.C. word I have replaced by *shanati*. *Libbita*, written             , is from the Heb. נבט to behold, of which the future is יביט and the imperative דבט (Furst's Lex. 897); from which we

get the optative *libit*. The verb means "to behold," with the accusative following.—Job xxxv. 5, Genesis xv. 5. The passage of Genesis illustrates and remarkably confirms the explanation which I have given: "Look now toward heaven and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them; and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be!" **הבט-נא השמימה** look now toward heaven! Here the verb is used exactly as in the Assyrian writing—of looking *up to heaven*. Hebrew: Ebit ha shamima! *behold the heavens!* Assyrian, in the optative: (l)ibbita shamie! *may he behold the heavens!* And also in the fine passage in Job xxxv. 5: "Look unto the heavens and see; and behold the clouds which are higher than thou!" the verb employed is **הבט** as before.

144. **Aga.** A King.—Derived from *Agu* (see preceding articles). *Aga nu-bila*; *king everlasting* (epithet of Marduk in R 70).

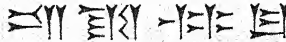
145. **Kudur.** **𒌷 𒍪 𒌷**, a Crown, or some kind of royal head-dress.—This word was altered by the Greeks into *Kudapis*, which is explained by Liddell and Scott as a Persian head-dress, probably the same as the royal *Tiapa*.

Kudur as *reshdu-ya assim*, *I placed the "Kudur" on my head*; *usassab ramani*, *and I seated myself*.—Bl. Stone of Esarhaddon, R 50, col. iv. 10. *Assim* from the Heb. **שׂים** ponere.


146. **Sakkanakku.** **𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪**, the High Priest (only at Babylon).—This word is derived in my opinion from **סגן** *sagan* (a priest) and **𒍪** *ukku* (great), making *sagan-ukku*, the high priest. **סגן** is only used in the Bible during and after the Babylonian captivity. It is clearly a Babylonian word. Daniel was appointed by the King of Babylon *rab saganin* or chief *sagan*. In that capacity he had rule "over all the wise men of Babylon."—Dan. ii. 48.









Ukku is a Scythian or Median and probably also Proto-Chaldean word, meaning "great" (Norris's Scythian Glossary, p. 181, in Journ. R. A. S., Vol. xv.). Moreover the capital city of Maniah, "king of the rebellious Dahæ," was called




Ukku (R40, 3). But the Dahæ were a Median or Scythian race, and *ukku* only meant the "great city" of that kingdom. In line 13 we read "He fled from Ukku his royal city and went to a great distance from it. I took and destroyed the city of Ukku and carried off its spoil."

147. **Ishakku.** , a Priest.—R 52, 6; and in the Birs Nim. inser., R 51, 3.

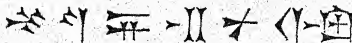


Ishakku tsiri, *the high priest*. I think it probable that the termination *akku* meant "great," as in *Sakkanakku* (see last article).

In Heb.  is *senex* = *πρεσβυτερος presbyter*. I do not find it used for *priest*. It may have been so, however, in Babylonian. If so, it was perhaps the root of *Ish-akku*, or *Ishakku*.

148. **Imga.** , a Priest, of the order of Magi.—The father of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, was a priest of high rank, who bore the title of   <    Rubu Imga, which is also written  Imga, where  is a monogram for Rubu.

See the inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 in R, plate 68. The first letter  is sometimes omitted, and the word is spelt   Im-ga.

This personage, the father of Nabonidus, was the Rab Mag mentioned in Jeremiah xxxix. 3, who entered Jerusalem in triumph, along with many other princes of Babylon, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar. If not the same, at any rate he bore the same title and rank. Imga mutninnu, *most liberal high priest*, is a title of Nebuchadnezzar in R 52, 11. Muda imga occurs in the Birs N. inser., R 51, 4.

149. **Mutninnu.** , Generous, Liberal, full of Gifts.—Imga mutninnu, R 52, 11, a title of Nebuchadnezzar; see last article. Ashri kansu mutninnu, R 51, line 2 of the Senk. inser.—here the word is spelt as before, except  in the place of .

From the Chald. *mutnin* מתנ gifts, plural of מתנא. *Ex.*, Daniel ii. 48, "Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him *many great gifts*." מתנ רבנ *mutnin rabrabin*.

Another form of the word is מתן donum; whence a generous man is called איש מתן. All from the root תן or נתן to give.

Another title given to Nebuchadnezzar on account of his great generosity, "mustihu baladam," *dispenser of gifts*, will be considered in the next article.

150. **Balat.** 𐤁𐤏𐤀, a Gift.—Also written *Balada* and *Balathu*. See Art. 36. That article requires correction. In 2 R 66, Part 2, we read: "O Beltis, I have built for thee a splendid temple and altar. Grant me in return for it a long life!" Grant! is expressed by the word *tin* 𐤏𐤍, which is exactly the Hebrew תן *tin* (give!), the imperative of *natan* נתן to give, which drops the *n* in the tenses, like most other verbs which begin with that letter. *Ex.*, לתן לחכם "give to a wise man!" Proverbs ix. 9. But instead of *tin*, another tablet in the British Museum has *balat* 𐤁𐤏𐤀 in this passage, although the rest of the inscription is the same in both tablets. Hence we perceive that *balat* is a verb, in the imperative mood, meaning *give!* or *grant!*

At first this may seem surprising, if not doubtful, but if we examine we find other proofs that *balat* meant a grant or gift. Thus in Phill. i. 4, Nebuchadnezzar, among other titles of excellence which he assumes, calls himself Mustihu baladam, *giver of gifts*; and this corresponds exceedingly well with his boast in another inscription (R 52, 11), that he was *Imga mutninnu*, "the generous high priest" (see No. 149). Hence in Senk. ii. 18, we should translate *balat tami rukuti*, "the gift of a long life" (here the other cylinder reads *balathu*). And in Birs N. ii. 20, *baladam dara* is "the gift of long time."

That 𐤏𐤍 *tin* is equivalent to *balat* or *balathu* is further

152. **Bulthut.** 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵, Alive.—A good example of this word will be found in R 14, 75: "Ten (*buffaloes?*) I slew; four I took alive (*bulthut*). Their skins and their horns, together with the live buffaloes (*bulthut*) to my city Ashur I brought home."—Diku u bulthu, *killed and taken alive*.—Beh. line 83, in the account of a battle. The root is 𐎲𐎠𐎵 bul, *life*.

𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Bulthut* is the participle of the verb *Bullith*, "to give life," which occurs in 2 R 36, 17.

153. **Isinati.** 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵, otherwise written 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵, Religious Festivals.

Isinati-su as arkhi 𐎲𐎠𐎵 u arkhi 𐎲𐎠𐎵 lu-ashkun; *I fixed his annual festivals in the 11th month Sebat and in the 6th month Elul (January and August)*.—R 23, 134. This is said of the god Ninev.

Another example is found in Phill. iii. 7. The King honors Nebo and Marduk, and says that he has appointed "*isinati-sun damgati*," *their holy festival days*; "*hakit-zun rabti*," *and their great solemnities*. The word *hakit* is the plural of 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *hag*, which in Assyrian as in Hebrew signifies a religious festival, and also the victim there sacrificed.

154. **Nimidi.** 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵. The *guza nimidi* was the king's travelling Palanquin (see No. 140). I believe no etymology has yet been offered of this word. I will, therefore, suggest that it comes from the Hebrew 𐤏𐤍𐤁 *num*, to sleep. The great distances the monarch had to travel when he accompanied his army on foreign expeditions must have rendered some *lectica* necessary, on which he could sleep, or at any rate repose at full length. This view of the word *nimidi* is, I think, confirmed by the verbal gloss in 2 R 24, 20, where *mazzar nimidi* is rendered *iskibbu* (*lectica*, *cubile*, *lectus*), from Hebrew 𐤱𐤠𐤁 *cubare*, *dormire*. A similar substantive, *askup* or *askupat*, is used for a flat stone *lying down* and covering an object. So we say in English "the *sleepers* of a railway."

which Norris gives is from the bilingual lists in 2 R 25, 23, and 44, 31—𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 rendered 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶. That is, *Mir* in P.C. is *Agu* in Assyrian. But *Agu* means a crown.

Having thus established that the *Mir* worn by the goddess was her *crown*, let us consider what is the origin of the word? It is, I think almost indubitable that it is the Persian *Mitra* or Crown, which was very much ornamented with divers colours, as we see by this line of Theocritus (xvii. 19):

Περσαισι βαρυς θεος αιολομιτραϊς.

Herodotus says (i. 195) "The Babylonians wear mitres on their heads"—*τας κεφαλὰς μιτρησι αναδεονται*.

In Cyprus only the kings wore mitres (Herod. vii. 90). This is sufficient to show that it was a head-dress of honour.











The *mir raba* of the goddess may have been a jewelled mitre. The *μιτρη* was worn in Asia by women as well as men, else it would not have been adopted by the Greek women,



πεπλοὶ ποδηρεῖς, ἐπὶ καρὰ δ' ἔσται ΜΙΤΡΑ.

(description of Pentheus disguised as a woman.)—Eur. Bacch. 831.













In common conversation *Mitra* would easily be contracted into *Mir*, just as *pater* became *père*; *mater*, *mère*; and *frater*, *frère*. A closer instance is seen in the name of the god *Mithra*: Persian, *Mihir*, the Sun.














157. Nu-tarda. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶. A Proto-Chaldean word, which probably means "a man without authority," "an ordinary person," "a poor man."—It is put in contrast with *aklu*, a man of rank, which is the Hebrew יכל *potens*. This P.C. word designates a class of men in some of the Michaux inscriptions in the British Museum. It occurs again on tablet 169, where *Tarda* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 is explained by the Assyrian word *Dinu* 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, which I consider to be the Hebrew אדון, Adon=lord, signor, seigneur; or to be at any rate derived from the same root with אדון, which is also cognate with אדון to rule (regere, moderari, imperare.—*Gesen.*).

In the next line of tablet 169 we find our word *Nu-tarda*    explained by      *val dinu* (not a *Dinu*). For,  *nu* in P.C. and  *val* in Assyrian, both mean "not." From the preceding bilingual gloss this much at least is certain, viz., that *nu-tarda* is a negative term, and the contrary of *tarda*. And from what I have said above it appears to mean "an ordinary person," "not a man of rank," "a poor man," &c. &c.

¶ The Hebrew  to govern, and  *Adon*, *Lord*, seem to be cognate with the Greek *Δυν*, the root of *δυναμαι*, *δυναμις*, *δυναστης*, &c. &c.

158. **Nu-kimmut.** ——— Unassailable, unconquerable.—

In R 35, No. 2, line 2, Nebo bears the title of      which Oppert reads Son of the god Nukimmut. I have come round to that opinion, having mistaken the meaning at first. In R 17, 2, the same epithet is applied to Ninev; but instead of     "Son," we find   *bukur*, "eldest son," the Hebrew .

In 2 R 67, 67, Nebo bears the same epithet; but now   is replaced by     *rubu*, "chief" or "great." I presume that this is equivalent to *bukur*, "eldest." The above explanation of   is due to Norris, p. 374, who found it used as an epithet of Ninev, "eldest son of Bel," in R 32, 16. The epithet *nu-kimmut* consists of two words, for they are sometimes found in separate lines. And since *nu* has no other meaning than "not," the word  *nu-kimmut* must mean "the god who is not *kimmut*," and the latter word has all the appearance of a participle from the verb *kim*  or  *קרם*. This verb signifies *insurgere*, and I would, therefore, translate  *nu-kimmut* by "the god who is unassailable," or "against whom resistance is vain." It is remarkable that the same phrase exists in Hebrew, only it is applied to a king and not to a god. We read in Proverbs xxx. that a king is *al kum*  *אל קום*, which Schindler, p. 1602,

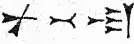
explains "contra quem nemo audet insurgere," from **לל** *non*, and **קום** *surgere*. Now, if we replace the Hebrew **לל** by the P.C. *Nu*, and *kum* by the participial form *kimmūt*, we obtain the epithet *nu-kimmūt*.

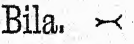











In the remarkable inscription of Sargina, B.M. 33, 6, he calls himself, the fierce destroyer, "sha emukan tsirati **⌒⌒** Nukimmūt ishruku-su, **⌒** kuti tsirri ustibbu idussu; to whom the god Nukimmūt has given his lofty 'emukan,' and has placed his long arrows in his hand." Here, I think, *ustibbu* is the Chald. **שתב** "to give," "to communicate." But the meaning of *emukan* is doubtful. It sometimes seems to mean Arms or Weapons; sometimes other things. But since it is followed in this passage by **⌒** *kuti tsirri*, "long arrows," it is probable that we should take *emukan* also in the sense of *weapons*. The passage is very like one in Tigl. Pil. vi. 57: "The gods Ninev and Sidu gave to my hands their piercing arrows and their long spears." In Sargina's inscription, instead of Ninev and Sidu, we have Nukimmūt, whose name (the unconquerable) may, I think, be safely paraphrased as "the god of War."







¶ On further consideration I think that the *Emukan* in the above quoted passage, B.M. 33, 6, are "Spears." Compare the clause in Sargina's prayer to the god of war (Opp. Exp. p. 333), where he says, speaking of himself in the third person, "Protect his horses! preserve his chariots! make to fly far his unconquerable spears! and make his arrows sharp, to destroy his enemies!" The only part of this which I need analyse is that regarding the Spears. It stands thus: *Sutali-su emukan lashanan!* Now, **ל** *tal* is the proper verb in Hebrew for "throwing a Spear." Schindler renders it *jactavit*, *vibravit*, *proiecit*. In 1 Sam. xviii. 11, Saul threw his spear with the intention of slaying David. The original Hebrew text has **ל** *ital*, "he threw." It is plain, then, that the imperative *Tal* is Throw [the spear]. But the imperative of the *Shaphel* conjugation *Sutal* is, Cause it to be thrown!

Therefore, when we find in a prayer to the god of war for his aid and blessing, "Sutali-su emukan," this must mean "Cause his spears to be *well* thrown!" The adjective *lashanan* probably means "unconquerable," from *Shanan*, to conquer. This verb in the T conjugation forms *ashtanan*, "I conquered," and *ishtananu*, "they conquered."

Another argument for rendering *emukan* "spears" is the following:—When Sennacherib fought with the Egyptians (B.M. 38, 75) the latter brought up against him *emuki la nibi*, which seems to mean "Spearmen without number."

159. *Nu-bila*. , Everlasting, Eternal (see the next article).

160. *Bila*.  , otherwise  , the End.—Also, that which comes to an end: finite: mortal. This P.C. word occurs in the Michaux inscription, R 70, col. iii. 13, where the god Marduk has the title or epithet *Aga nu bila*; "king without end," or "living for ever." The phrase is explained in a tablet lithographed in 2 R 13, 50, where the P.C.  is rendered by the Assyrian *gamru*   ; and in the next line   is explained *la gamru*. Now, the Hebrew *gamar* גמר means "to come to an end, to cease" (Furst's Lexicon, p. 293); and therefore   *nu-bila* means "never ending." These explanations of *bila* and *nu-bila* are, each of them, given three times in the above-mentioned tablet, 2 R 13, lines 50 to 55.


¶ In R 59, 66, Nebuchadnezzar says that he is the Vicegerent of Marduk, or his Vicar on Earth. He says in his prayer to Marduk: "Thou hast clothed me with the sovereignty of the World, *kima dumuk-ka bitu* , like thy Mortal Image." To illustrate this, I will give another example of the word *dumuk*, which is written both   and   . "I made an Image (*dumuk*) of his great divinity in (*white marble*?) stone, and shining gold."—R 23, 133.

151. **Itzutzu.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, He said; they say. *Dixit, dicunt, ut aiunt, &c. &c.*—The origin of this verb appears to me to be the Heb. *itza* ִיצָא, to go forth, with the last letter reduplicated ִיצָאִיצָא. So the English verb “to utter;” Germ. *äussern*, come from *out*, and *aus* respectively, and are, in fact, the same word in different dialects. So *edere* and *efferre*, from the preposition *e* or *ex*—*Ede* tuum nomen (Ovid), Speak out thy name!—*Decenter aliquid efferre* (Quint.), to speak with propriety. Also we have the *sha* conjugation of ִיצָא *shatza* or *shazza*, to speak (see the next article). The verb *itza* ִיצָא is used in Hebrew not only for solemn utterances as a decree, the sentence of a judge, the promulgation of *doctrine*, or the like, but also for common conversation and vulgar rumour.

Example of the word *itzutzu*.—In line 75 of the Obelisk we read—“Marduk-bel-utzati akhu dubut-zu itti-su ibbuluk, malmalish *itzutzu*; *Marduk-bel-utzati, his younger brother, split with him (as they say).*” In fact the brothers quarrelled, and a civil war arose (all which is again related in 2 R 65, 51). The important phrase here is *malmalish itzutzu*, “as they say in common parlance,” or perhaps “as people say in that dialect.” *Malmalish* is an adverb, derived from Hebrew *mala* (מָלָא to speak, מִלָּה a word). The reduplicate form is partly preserved in מִלָּל. This adverb, doubtless, means “in common conversation.” The parenthesis thus suddenly interposed, like the Latin “*ut aiunt*,” refers to some unusual word that has just preceded. But what is that word? This seems difficult to decide. I think it must be either *dubut* or *ibbuluk*; more likely the latter, because it precedes the remark *more immediately*. But I do not see that *ibbuluk* is so unusual as to call for a special remark on the part of the scribe. *Buluk*, “to rebel,” is not unfrequent, *ex. gr.*, in *bulukti-su rabti, in his great rebellion*.

The account of this fraternal quarrel in 2 R 65, 51, which is unfortunately much mutilated, is not copied from the Obelisk, but from some more copious annals of those times.

In this second account, Marduk-bel-utsati is simply called "his brother," and not "his younger brother." Instead of "itti-su ibbuluk" it has "ki-su," with him; and it omits the parenthesis *malmalish itzutu*, which perhaps this later scribe considered to be unnecessary.

I will now give another example of the verb *itzutu*, from 2R 8, 37, in which it is spelt precisely in the same way: . But I must preface it by a few observations to make it intelligible. King Ashurbanipal was a great patron of literature, and to him we owe the fine collection of Grammatical tablets which are now in the British Museum. He took a great personal interest in the matter, as is evident from the boast inscribed by his orders on so many of the tablets "that no king before him had ever done so much for Learning," with thanks to the gods for having so enlarged his intelligence and sharpened his eyesight. He had founded in his palace what, for want of a better term, I may call a College, in which he employed many scribes, who covered the tablets with records of omnigenous learning. Who the pupils were who frequented this college and were initiated into the learning of the age is not ascertained. Many of the tablets contain brief allusions to some course of study. Thus one tablet speaks of "so many months, so many days, *and half a day*;" which, I think, refers to the time in which some particular branch of study had been completed by some class of pupils. If the pupil was one of the young princes, we can easily imagine that a notice of his progress, or something of his writing, would be often submitted to the King; or, if he were a more ordinary person, to the Governor of the Palace.

The passage in 2R 8, 37, to which I wish to draw attention, contains a kind of Certificate from one of the Teachers that the lessons in grammar or languages have been thoroughly mastered by some one, who, of course, must have been one of the scholars.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society (Hodgson Collection).*
By Professors E. B. COWELL and J. EGGEING.

THE manuscripts of Buddhist works described in the following pages were collected in Nepal by Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson—who has contributed so largely to the elucidation of Northern Buddhism—and presented by him to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1835 and 1836. The great importance of a thorough examination of the Buddhist Sanskrit works of Northern India, both for Prâkrit philology and for Buddhist research, is becoming more and more apparent; and it seemed very desirable that the contents of this collection, which, though deficient in many of the standard works, is perhaps the finest of original manuscripts in Europe, should become better known to scholars interested in these inquiries. A detailed analysis of the works was beyond the scope of the present catalogue, as it would in many cases be extremely difficult, if not impossible, without comparing other copies. It is hoped, however, that the brief description now offered will, at least, suffice for the identification of the works, and will for that reason be acceptable to Sanskrit scholars.

The *Newâr* era, in which many of these MSS. are dated, commenced in October, 880 A.D. This number has accordingly to be added to the Nepal date to obtain the corresponding Christian year.

The material of the MSS. consists of Indian paper, unless otherwise stated. By *modern* MSS. are intended such as appear to have been written within the present century.

1. *Ashṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā.*

Complete in thirty-two chapters. 204 palm leaves. 22½ in. by 2½ in. Six lines in a page. Old.

It begins: निर्विकल्पे नमस्तुभ्यं प्रज्ञापारमितेऽमिते ।

या त्वं सर्वानवद्याङ्गि निरवद्यैर्निरीक्ष्यसे ॥

After some twenty introductory ślokas: एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्मये भगवां राजगृहे विहरति स गृध्रकूटे पर्वते°.

The chapters end as follows:

- I. आर्याष्टसहस्रिकायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां सर्वाकारज्ञाताचर्या-परिवर्त्तो नाम प्रथमः ॥ fol. 13b.
- II. °शक्तपरिवर्त्तो नाम द्वितीयः ॥ fol. 19b.
- III. °अप्रमेयगुणधारणपारमितास्तूपसत्कारपरिवर्त्तो नाम तृतीयः ॥ fol. 33b.
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- VII. °निरयपरिवर्त्तस्तप्तमः ॥ fol. 76b.
- VIII. °विशुद्धिपरिवर्त्तो नामाष्टमः ॥ fol. 81b.
- IX. °स्तुतिपरिवर्त्तो नाम नवमः ॥ fol. 84.
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 XXIII. °शक्तपरिवर्त्तो नाम त्रयोविंशतितमः ॥ fol. 162.
 XXIV. °अभिमानपरिवर्त्तो नाम चतुर्विंशतितमः ॥ fol. 164b.
 XXV. °शिक्षापरिवर्त्तो नाम पञ्चविंशतितमः ॥ fol. 167.
 XXVI. °माधोपमपरिवर्त्तो नाम षड्विंशतितमः ॥ fol. 171b.
 XXVII. °सारपरिवर्त्तो नाम सप्तविंशतितमः ॥ fol. 176b.
 XXVIII. °अवकीर्णकुसुमपरिवर्त्तो नाम अष्टविंशतितमः ॥ fol. 184.
 XXIX. °अनुगमपरिवर्त्तो नाम एकोनविंशतितमः ॥ fol. 185.
 XXX. °सदाप्रबुद्धितपरिवर्त्तो नाम त्रिंशत्तमः ॥ fol. 197.
 XXXI. °धर्मोद्गतपरिवर्त्तो नाम एकत्रिंशत्तमः ॥ fol. 200b.
 XXXII. आर्याष्टसहस्रिकायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां पारीन्दनापरिवर्त्तो
 नाम द्वात्रिंशत्तमः ॥ समाप्ता चेयं भगवत्पार्याष्टसहस्रिका
 प्रज्ञापारमिता सर्वतथागतजननी सर्वबोधिसत्त्वप्रत्येकजि-
 नश्रावकाणाञ्च माता ॥ ° ॥ °परमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकपर-
 मसौगतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्भोविन्दपालविजयराज्य-
 स्वत् ४ ॥

2. Gaṇḍa-vyūha.

289 palm leaves. 22½ in. by 2 in. Six lines in a page.

It begins : गण्डव्यूहमहार्णवस्तोत्रनिनादिभोजिनसुतानां ।

पर्यन्मण्डलसागरनाम्ना व्यूहादिकं प्रोक्तं ॥

सुगतसमाध्यवतरणा अचिन्त्यबुद्धनिदर्शनं चैव ।°

Eight introductory ślokas, after which : एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्त्रिंशत्तमये°

The work consists of a considerable number of sections, the last of which ends with enumerating the fifty-two kalyāṇamitras : तद्यथा मञ्जु-
 श्रीबोधिसत्त्वः प्रथमं कल्याणमित्रं° आर्यसमन्तभद्रो बोधिसत्त्व इति ५२ ॥

The MS. is dated संवत् २८६ (in letters) °महाराजाधिराजश्रीमदानन्ददेवस्व विजयराज्ये । कायत्यपशुपतिसुरेण लिखितं.

3. *Dasabhūmīśvara.*

137 leaves (paper). 14½ in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Modern MS.

It begins: यस्मिन्पारमिता दशोत्तमगुणास्तैस्तैर्नयैः सूचिताः

सर्वज्ञेन जगद्धिताय दश च प्रख्यापिता भूमयः ।

उच्छेदध्रुववर्जितावधिमला प्रोक्ता गतिर्मध्यमा

तत्सूचं दशभूमिकं निगदितं शृण्वन्तु बोध्यर्थिनः ॥

एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्मये भगवान्परनिर्मितवशवर्तिषु देवेषु विहरति स्म । °

The work consists of eleven chapters (*bhūmī*) which end as follows :

I. इत्येषां प्रथमा भूमिर्निर्दिष्टा सुसतात्मजाः ।

सर्वलोकहितैषिणां बोधिसत्त्वाननुत्तमाः ॥

प्रमुदिता नाम प्रथमा बोधिसत्त्वभूमिः ॥ fol. 24.

II. विमला नाम द्वितीया बोधिसत्त्वभूमिः ॥ fol. 34.

III. प्रभाकरी नाम तृतीया° fol. 44b.

IV. अर्चिष्मती नाम चतुर्थी° fol. 53b.

V. सुदुर्जया नाम पञ्चमी° fol. 63b.

VI. अभिमुखी नाम षष्ठी° fol. 75b.

VII. दूरंगमा नाम सप्तमी° fol. 88.

VIII. अचला नामाष्टमी° fol. 102.

IX. साधुमती नाम नवमी° fol. 113b.

X. धर्ममेवा नाम दशमी° fol. 131b.

XI. इति श्रीबोधिसत्त्वचर्याप्रस्थानो दशभूमीश्वरो नाम महायानसूचरत्नराज समाप्त ।

4. *Samādhirāja.*

219 leaves. 13½ in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Dated Samvat 920 (A.D. 1800).

The work begins: अनिरोधमनुत्पन्नमनाविलमनचरं ।

महायानमहन्तोष्ये बुद्धज्ञानाभिवांक्ष्या ॥

It consists of forty chapters which end as follows :

- I. इति दानपरिवर्तो नाम प्रथमः fol. 10b.
- II. सल्लेन्द्रराजापरि० द्वितीयः fol. 13b.
- III. भूतबुद्धगुणवर्णप्रकाशनप० तृतीयः fol. 17.
- IV. बुद्धानुस्मृतिप० चतुर्थः fol. 19.
- V. घोषदन्तप० fol. 24.
- VI. समाधिप० fol. 26.
- VII. चिचान्त्यवतारप० fol. 29.
- VIII. अभावसमुद्रतप० fol. 31b.
- IX. गम्भीरधर्मचान्तिप० fol. 37b.
- X. पुरप्रवेशप० fol. 51b.
- XI. सूत्रधारणप० fol. 56b.
- XII. समाध्यनुशिष्टणाप० fol. 58b.
- XIII. समाधिनिर्देशप० fol. 60b.
- XIV. स्मितसंदर्शनप० fol. 67b.
- XV. स्मितव्याकरणप० fol. 68b.
- XVI. पूर्वयोगप० fol. 71.
- XVII. बज्र[बु]द्धनिर्हारसमाधिसुखप० fol. 84b.
- XVIII. समाध्यनुपरिन्दनाप० fol. 87b.
- XIX. अचिन्त्यबुद्धधर्मनिर्देशप० fol. 91.
- XX. इन्द्रध्वजराजप० fol. 92b.
- XXI. पूर्वयोगपरिवर्त० fol. 95.
- XXII. तथागतकायनिर्देशप० fol. 98b.
- XXIII. तथागताचिन्त्यनिर्देशप० fol. 106b.
- XXIV. प्रतिसंविदावतारप० fol. 110b.
- XXV. अनुमोदनाप० fol. 111b.
- XXVI. दानानुशंसाप० fol. 112b.

- XXVII. श्रीलनिर्देशप° fol. 113b.
 XXVIII. दशानुशंसाप° fol. 121.
 XXIX. तेजोगुणराजप° fol. 129.
 XXX. अनुशंसाप° fol. 130.
 XXXI. सर्वधर्मस्वभावनिर्देशप° fol. 132b.
 XXXII. सूत्रधारणानुशंसाप° fol. 147b.
 XXXIII. क्षेमदत्तप° fol. 153.
 XXXIV. ज्ञानावतीप° fol. 159b.
 XXXV. सुपुष्पचन्द्रप° fol. 180b.
 XXXVI. श्रीलस्तन्यप° fol. 186.
 XXXVII. यशःप्रभप° (?) fol. 192b.
 XXXVIII. कायवाङ्मनःसम्बरप° fol. 206b.
 XXXIX. पदप° fol. 217b.
 XL. आर्यसर्वधर्मस्वभावसमाधिपञ्चिकात्समाधेर्यथालब्धमरिच-
 त्तो नाम चालिंशतिमः समाप्तः ।

5. *Saddharmalankāvatāra-Mahāyānasūtram.*

157 leaves. 14½ in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page.
 Modern MS.

The work begins: एवमया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् लङ्कापुरसमु-
 द्रमलयशिखरे विहरति स्म ।°

It consists of ten *Parivartas* which end as follows:

- I. इति रावणाध्येषणापरिवर्त्तौ नाम प्रथमः fol. 11.
- II. लङ्कावतारषट्पञ्चाशत्सर्वधर्मसमुच्चयो नाम द्वितीयः प°
 fol. 64.
- III. लङ्कावतारे महायानसूत्रे अनित्यतापरिवर्त्तस्तृतीयः ॥ fol. 99.
- IV. अभिसमयपरिवर्त्तश्चतुर्थः fol. 101.
- V. तथागतनित्यानित्यत्वप्रसङ्गः परिवर्त्तः पञ्चमः fol. 103.
- VI. क्षणिकपरिवर्त्तः षष्ठः fol. 113.
- VII. नैर्वाणिकपरिवर्त्तः सप्तमः fol. 115.

VIII. इति लङ्कावतारात्सर्वबुद्धवचनहृदयादमान्समक्षपरिवर्त्तो ऽष्ट-
मः (?) fol. 121.

IX. इति लङ्कावतारे धारणीपरिवर्त्तो नवमः fol. 122.

X. आर्यसङ्घर्मलङ्कावतारनाममहायानसूत्रसगाथकं समाप्तमिति ॥
लिखितेयं श्रीवज्राचार्यबुधनृत्तिश्चरेणेति ॥

6. *Saddharmapundarika.*

174 leaves. 17 in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Modern.

7. *Lalitavistara.*¹

320 leaves. 15½ in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Dated
Samvat 875 (A.D. 1755).

It ends: आर्यललितविस्तरो नाम धर्मप्रख्याय समाप्तं ॥

8. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa.*

86 leaves. 13 in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Dated
Samvat 942.

It begins: श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये गृद्धकुते (!) तथागतः विजहार धर्मधाता०

The work consists of twenty-one *Parivartas* which end as follows :

- I. इति सुवर्णप्रभासोत्तमसूत्रेन्द्रराजे निदानपरिवर्त्तः प्रथमः fol. 3.
- II. इति सु० तथागतायुःप्रमाननिर्देशप० द्वितीयः fol. 7b.
- III. ०स्वप्नातरप० तृतीयः fol. 8.
- IV. ०राजेन्द्रदेशे नामप० चतुर्थः fol. 15.
- V. ०कमलाकरो नाम सर्वतथागतोत्पत्तप० पञ्चमः(!) fol. 17.
- VI. ०शून्यताप० षष्ठमः fol. 19b. [VII. ?]
- VIII. ०सरस्वतीदेवीप० नामाष्टमः fol. 40.
- IX. ०श्रीमहादेवीप० नवमः fol. 42b.
- X. ०सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वनाम संधारणप० दशमः fol. 42b.
- XI. ०दृढापृथिवीदेवताप० नामैकादशमः fol. 46b.

¹ The accounts of MSS. 7 and 9 have been kindly supplied to us by Dr. Lefmann of Heidelberg, with whom these MSS. were at the time when this list was drawn up.

- XII. °संज्ञामहायज्ञ[सि]नापतिः प० द्वादशमः fol. 48b.
 XIII. °देवेन्द्रसमयं नाम राजशानामत्रे (!) प० त्रयोदशमः fol. 52b.
 XIV. °सुसंतवप० चतुदशमः fol. 55.
 XV. °यज्ञाश्रयो नामा रक्षा प० पञ्चदशमः fol. 59.
 XVI. °दसदेवपुत्रसहस्रव्याकरणप० षोडशमः fol. 62.
 XVII. °वाधिप्रसमनप० (!) सप्तदशमः fol. 65b.
 XVIII. °जलवाहन °वैनेयप० षष्ठदसः fol. 73b.
 XIX. °व्याघ्रीप० नामोनविंशतितमः fol. 85.
 XX. °सर्वतथागतस्तवप० विंशतितमः fol. 86b.
 It ends: इत्यार्यश्रीसुवर्णप्रभासोत्तमसूचेन्द्रराजः परिसमाप्तः ।

9. *Mahāvastvavadānam*.¹

360 leaves. 17 in. by 5½ in. Eleven lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 933 (A.D. 1813).

It begins: श्रीं नमः श्रीमहाबुद्धाय ॥ ऽतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नेभ्यः सर्वबुद्धेभ्यः ॥ महावस्तुने आदिवन्धानीमानि बोधिसत्वानां बोधिसत्वचर्याणि ॥ कतमानि चत्वारि ॥ प्रकृतिचर्या प्रणिधानचर्या अनुलोमचर्या अनिवर्त्तनचर्या ॥ नमोऽपराजितध्वजाय तथागतायाऽर्हते सम्यक्संबुद्धाय ॥ यस्यान्तिकेऽनेनैव भगवता शाक्यमुनिना प्रथमं कुशलमूलान्यवरोपितानि राज्ञा चक्रवर्तिभूतेनादौ प्रकृतिचर्यायां प्रवर्तमनेन ॥ °

इति श्रीमहावस्तुनिदानगाथा समाप्त ॥ fol. 2.

fol. 2b. भगवान् सम्यक्संबुद्धो यदर्थं समुदागतो तदर्थं अभिसंभावयित्वा आरतीयां विहरति ॥ येतवनेऽनाथपिण्डस्थारामे शास्ता देवानां मनुष्याणां च विस्तरेण निदानं कृत्वा ।°

इति श्रीमहावस्तुने नरकपरिवर्तं नाम सूत्रं परिसमाप्तं ॥ fol. 7a.

इति श्रीमहावस्तुअवदाने महावस्तुं सानुगीतं समाप्तं ॥ fol. 12a.

°अवदाने वज्रबुद्धसूत्रं समाप्तं ॥ fol. 16.

°अभिषेकवती नाम दश[म]भूमिः समाप्ता ॥ fol. 43.

¹ See note, p. 7.

- °दीपकारवस्तु समाप्तं ॥ fol. 58b.
- °मङ्गलस्य वस्तुं° fol. 60.
- °तृणकुनीयं नाम जातकं° fol. 68.
- °रचितो नाम ऋषिजातकं° fol. 69b.
- °ऋषभस्य जातकं° fol. 71.
- °वृचवस्तुं समाप्तं fol. 73.
- °मालिनीयवस्तु समाप्तं fol. 78.
- °ज्योतिपालस्य भिक्षुस्य सूचं° fol. 85b.
- °ज्योतिपालस्य व्याकरणं° fol. 86b.
- °कोलियऋषि नामोत्पत्ति° fol. 91b.
- °मंजरीजातकं° fol. 111b.
- °गोधाजातकं° fol. 112b.
- °यशोधरायै हारप्रदानजातकं(?)° fol. 113.
- °यशोधरायव्यघ्रीभूतायजातकं° fol. 114.
- °शरत्पणं जातकं° fol. 117.
- °अमरायै कर्मारकाधीतायै जातकं° fol. 118b.
- °शिरीजातकं° fol. 119b.
- °किन्नरीजातकं° fol. 126.
- °पञ्चमहास्वप्नं नाम समाप्तं fol. 134b.
- °श्यामजातकं° fol. 146.
- °चम्पकस्य नागराजस्य जातकपरिकल्पपरः fol. 147b.
- °चम्पकानागराजस्य जातकं° fol. 149.
- °कण्टकस्य व्याकरणं° fol. 150b.
- °सुजातव्याकरणं° fol. 153.
- °श्यामकजातकस्य परिकल्पं° fol. 157b.
- °श्यामकजातकं° fol. 160.
- °शिरीप्रभस्य मृगराजस्य जातकं° fol. 161b.
- °शकुन्तकजातकं° fol. 163.
- °वृक्षपजातकं° fol. 163b.

- मर्कटजातकं° fol. 165.
- शकुन्तकजातकं° fol. 166.
- मृगराज्ञी सुरूपस्य जातकं° fol. 167.
- अवलोकितं नाम सुत्रं परिसमाप्तं fol. 180.
- अवलोकितं नाम सुत्रं परिवारं समाप्तं fol. 200.
- अवदाने कथायां कुशजातकं° fol. 237b.
- कथायां वरजातकं° fol. 238b.
- वानराधिपजातकं° fol. 239.
- पुण्यवन्तजातकं° fol. 241b.
- विजीतावस्य वैदेहराज्ञी जातकं° fol. 243b.
- महाकश्यपस्य वस्तुप्रव्रज्यसूत्रं समाप्तं fol. 246b.
- शालिपुत्रमौद्गल्यायनप्रमुखानां पञ्चभिर्बुधतानां राक्षसीद्वीपक्षिफा-
नां जातकं° fol. 256b.
- कथायां पितापुत्रसमागमं समाप्तं fol. 265.
- काकजातकं नाम° fol. 266b.
- हस्तिनिकाजातकपरिकल्पं° fol. 267b.
- हस्तिनीजातकं° fol. 268b.
- नलिनीये राजकुमारीये जातकं° fol. 274.
- पटुमावतीये परिकल्पं° fol. 280.
- पटुमावतीये पूर्वयोगं° fol. 280b.
- राजुलभद्रकुमारस्य पूर्वयोगं° fol. 281b.
- उपलिङ्गपलानां जातकं° fol. 287b.
- महागोविन्दिये भगवतो पूर्वनिवाशसंयुक्तं सूत्रं° fol. 296b.
- कथायां वज्रबुद्धसूत्रकं° fol. 303.
- धर्मलब्धस्य सार्धवाहस्य जातकं° fol. 316.
- कथायां आज्ञातकौण्डिन्यजातकं° fol. 331b.
- पञ्चकारां भद्रवर्गिकाणां जातकं° fol. 334.
- शरतां जातकं° fol. 338b.
- त्रिंशद्युगानां प्रव्रज्यं° fol. 338b.

°कथायां अयुष्मतो पूर्णस्य मैत्रायणीपुत्रस्य जातकं° fol. 340b.

°नालकप्रज्ञा° fol. 342.

°यशोदस्य श्रेष्ठपुत्रस्य वस्तु° fol. 346.

°यशोदजातकं° fol. 346b.

°अस्थिसेनस्य जातकं° fol. 348.

°आयुष्मतानां उलुवित्वाकाशपनादिकाशपानां जातकं° fol. 352b.

°अरिन्दमजातकं° fol. 360. ॥ ° ॥ इति श्रीमहावस्तुअवदानं समाप्तं ॥ ° ॥ सोऽयं सुभाषितो भक्त्या सुगतस्त्रानुभावतः । मया संपूर्णलिखितं कैवल्यवत्सदेशकः ॥ ° ॥ स्वस्ति नैपालिके वर्षे भुवणशक्तिद्विजिह्वा । मासे श्रावणकृष्णे च दुर्गातिथिरविवासरो संपूर्णलिखि नन्ददेवेन लिखापित पुस्तकमिदम् ॥ ° ॥ संवत्सरे ९३३°

10. *Ratnaparīkshā* by *Buddhabhaṭācārya*.

35 leaves. 13 in. by 2½ in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 764 (A.D. 1644).

A treatise on gems and precious stones (Hera, vaidurya, etc.).

It begins :

रत्नत्रयाय भुवनत्रयवन्दिताय कृत्वा नमः समवलोक्य च रत्नसास्त्रं ।
रत्नप्रवेकमधिकृत्य विमुच्यफल्यं (!) संक्षेपमात्रमिह बुद्धभट्टेन दृष्टं (!) ॥

Ends : ॥ विद्रुमपरीक्षा ॥ २५७ ॥ इति श्रीबुद्धभट्टाचार्यकृता रत्नपरीक्षा समाप्तं ॥ ° ॥ श्रीललितकुमायां पूर्वस्थं श्रीमद्यूरवर्द्धनमाहाविहारि उत्तरगृहं श्रीज्जीदेवगुराचार्येन लिखितं । राजाधिराजश्रीमत्श्रीसिद्धिनरसिंहमल्लः तस्य पुत्र श्रीनीवासिमल्ल उभयस्य विजयराज्यसम्बत ७३४ ।

11. *Sarvakatādanāvadānam*.

20 leaves. 10½ in. by 2½ in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 916 (A.D. 1796). Wanting fol. 18.

The MS. begins :

श्रीवजसत्वमभि नित्यमनित्यतारं संसारसारभवकल्पविकल्पतारम् ।
ज्ञानांशुकोमलकलोज्जलसादिवुद्धं तन्नौमि देहमतिशान्तस्वभावरूपम् ॥
स कर्मताडनमयम्बरवुद्धसङ्गलोकोत्तमं (?) वज्रविधानसुगम्यलोकम् ।
वैशेषिके तनुमल्लविनाशहेतोः वक्ष्ये सदाशूलपूष्यमहार्खवस्त्र (P) ॥

After one more introductory śloka :

एवमेव श्रुतं मयैकस्मिन्समये पद्मपुरमहानगर्यां
इति मृत्तिकाशोधनकथा fol. 4b.; मृत्तिकाग्रहणकथा fol. 5.; etc.
स्वर्भुवनलीनकथा fol. 8b.

12. *Sugatāvadānam.*

In twelve chapters. 85 leaves. 12 in. by 2½ in. Five lines in a page. Modern MS.

It begins: विहरति कनकादौ शाक्यसिंहो मुनीन्द्रोऽपरिमितसुर-
संघैः सेव्यमानो°

- I. इति श्रीशाक्यमुनिर्भाषितसुगतावदाने निदानपरिवर्त्तो नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ fol. 6b.
- II. इति श्रीसुगतावदाने निमन्त्रणपरिवर्त्तो नाम द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥ fol. 11.
- III. इति सुगतावदाने धर्मश्रवणपरिवर्त्तो नाम तृतीयः ॥ fol. 15b.
- IV. °षड्भूतिप्रसंसारप[रि]वर्त्तो नाम चतुर्थः ॥ fol. 21b.
- V. °विहारादिस्थापनपरिवर्त्तो नाम पञ्चमः ॥ fol. 34b.
- VI. °विधानपरिवर्त्तो नाम षष्ठमः ॥ fol. 39.
- VII. °रूपश्रेष्ठापरि° सप्तमः ॥ fol. 45.
- VIII. °मन्त्रणादिपुरप्रवेशपरि° अष्टमः ॥ fol. 61.
- IX. °रात्र्यादिपूजनं यज्ञतत्परपरि° नवमः ॥ fol. 69.
- X. °पूजनकर्मपरि° दशमोऽध्यायः ॥ fol. 72b.
- XI. °भोजनादिफलं च(!) परिवर्त्तो नामैकादशमः ॥ fol. 80.
- XII. इति श्रीसुगतावदाने संघभोज्यपरिवर्त्तो नाम द्वादशमः समाप्त ॥

13. *Bodhicharyāvatāra.*

In ten *parichehhedas*. 47 palm leaves. 12½ in. by 1¾ in. Five lines in a page. Old. The shape of the figures and of some letters is very peculiar.

The MS. begins:

सुगतान्समुतान्सधर्मकायान् प्रणिपत्यादरतोऽखिलांश्च वंद्यान् ।

सुगतात्मजसंवरावतारं कथयिष्यामि यथागमं समासात् ॥

न हि किञ्चिदपूर्वमत्र वाच्यं न च संग्रथनकोशलं ममास्ति । अत एव न मे परार्थचिन्ता स्वमनो भावयितुं कृतं मयेदं°

I. बोधिचर्यावतारे बोधिचित्तानुशंसा प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ॥ fol. 36.

II. °पापदेशना द्वितीयः° fol. 7.

III. °बोधिचित्तपरिग्रहो नाम तृतीयः° fol. 9.

IV. °बोधिचित्ताप्रमादो नाम चतुर्थः° fol. 11b.

V. °संप्रजन्यरक्षणः पञ्चमः fol. 17.

VI. °ज्ञान्तिपारमिता षष्ठः° fol. 23b.

VII. °वीर्यपारमिता परिच्छेदः सप्तमः ॥ fol. 27.

VIII. °ध्यानपारमिता अष्टमः° fol. 36b.

IX. °प्रज्ञापारमिता परिच्छेदो नवमः ॥ fol. 44b.

X. °तरिणामना परिच्छेदो दशमः समाप्तः ॥

14. *Āsvaghosha-Nandimukha-Avadānam* [°*Vasudhārāvratam*].

52 leaves. 11½ in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Modern MS. Very incorrect.

It begins:

वसुधारां सदा नत्वा द्रालिद्रनवतारनीं (!) ।

दर्शयामि मनुष्यार्थं सर्वदुःखप्रमोचनीं ॥

°अतित्वपूर्वश्रीवसुधारादेवीव्रतप्रकासितकथां प्रवक्ष्यामि । श्रूयतां तावत्

It ends: इति श्रीपूर्वश्रीवसुन्धारादेवीव्रत संपूर्णं अस्वघोखा नन्दिमु-
खा अवदान परिसमाप्त ॥

15. *Uposhadhâvadânam* and *Doshanirṇayâvadânam*.

22 leaves. 14½ in. by 3 in. Five to seven lines in a page. Modern. Foll. 1-14, 16 and 22 have been supplied by a later hand.

It begins: एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् कपिलवस्तुनी महा-
नगर्यां स्वच्छनिर्मलसुगन्धसुश्रीतलखादुलघुस्निग्धहृदयवालिशः°

Fol. 12: इति भगवत्सुगतवाग्निष्टसंवादे भगवतोऽमोघपाशलोकेश्व-
रस्य उपोषधावदानमाचरितं कथं स्थापुपोषधा नाम देवपुत्रोत्पत्ति-
र्नाम प्रथमावदानं ॥

It ends: इति श्रीसुगतवाग्निष्टसंवादे सानुमत्तजदोषनिर्णयो नामाव-
दानं समाप्तं ॥

16. *Śyāmā-Jātakam* and *Kinnarī-Jātakam*.

39 leaves. 14½ in. by 3½ in. Seven lines in a page. Modern.

It begins: बोधिसत्त्वस्येदानि एतद्भूषि दुष्करमिदमगारमध्यवसन्तेन
एकान्तसंलिखितमेकान्तमनवद्यं एकान्तपरिशुद्धं पर्यवदातं°

The first *Jātaka* ends fol. 23: समाप्तं श्लामाये जातकं ॥ भिन्न भगव-
न्तमाहंसुः।°

After the colophon of the *Kinnarī-Jātaka* there are a few more lines with which a third *Jātaka* seems to commence, or it may be only the summary of the second.

17. *Svayambhūpurāṇam*.

20 leaves. 13 in. by 2¾ in. Six lines in a page. Dated
Samvat 771 (A.D. 1651).

It begins :

नत्वाङ्कवन्धुज्जगदेकवन्धुं स्वयम्भुभट्टारकमादिदेवम् ।
जराज्जामृत्युहरैकदं वन्दे तदुद्देशमहं समस्तम् ॥
नेपाले जगति ख्याति गोशृङ्गो नाम पर्वतः ।
भेरोऽस्ति च जुगे तस्य नाम्ना च जुगभेदतः ॥

The work consists of eight *parichchhedas*, which end as follows :

- I. इति श्रीस्वयंभूचैत्यभट्टारकोद्देशे धर्मधातूपत्तो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः fol. 36.
- II. इति° कोद्देशे पूजाफलवर्णनो नाम द्वितीयः° fol. 56.
- III. इति° देशे यूपच्छन्दोत्पादो नाम तृतीयः° fol. 7 [MS. 18 om. यूप].
- IV. °ग्रामादिसमुद्भवश्चतुर्थः° fol. 9.
- V. °तीर्थोपतीर्थनिरूपणे गुणवर्णनो नाम पञ्चमः° fol. 126.
- VI. °धर्मधातुवागीश्वरप्रवर्त्तनो नाम षष्ठमः° fol 16.
- VII. °धर्मधातुवाणीश्वरो गुप्तो [वागीश्वरगुप्तो MS. 18] नाम सप्तमः fol. 17.
- VIII. इति श्रीस्वयंभुपुराणे चैत्यभट्टारकोद्देशे महाप्रभाववर्णनो नामाष्टमः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥

18. *Mahat-Svayambhūpurāṇam.*

In eight *adhyāyas*, corresponding with the chapters of the preceding work. 173 leaves, numbered 1-69, 90-193. 13 in. by 4½ in. Six lines in a page Modern writing.

It begins: श्रीमता येन सद्धर्मस्त्रैलोक्ये संप्रकाशितः ।

श्रीघनन्तं महाबुद्धम्वदेऽहं शरणाश्रितः ॥

A. I. ends fol. 316: इति श्रीगोशृङ्गपर्वते स्वयंभूचैत्यभट्टारकोद्देशे धर्मधातूपत्तो नाम प्रथमो ध्यायः ॥

A. II. ends fol. 596; III. fol. 676; IV. fol. 1136; V. fol. 1406; VI.(?); VII. fol. 1676.

19. *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha.*

205 leaves. 16½ in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Dated
Samvat 927 (A.D. 1807).

It begins :

जः श्रीघनो महाबुद्धः सर्वलोकाधिद्योजितः ।
 तं नाथं शरणं गत्वा वक्ष्ये लोकेशसत्कथाम् ॥
 जा श्रीभगवती देवी सर्वधर्माधिपेश्वरी ।
 तस्या भक्तिप्रसादेन वक्ष्यामि बोधिसाधनम् ॥
 येन संपादितं सर्वं वैधातुकमिदं जगत् ।
 तस्य लोकेश्वरस्याहं वक्ष्ये सद्धर्मसाधनम् ॥
 तद्यथाभून्महासत्त्वा जिनश्रीराज आत्मवित् ।
 चिरत्नशरणं गत्वा यतिरर्हजिनात्मजः ॥
 एकस्मिन्समये सोऽर्हबोधिमण्डिर्जिनागमे ।
 बोधिचर्याव्रतं धृत्वा जगद्धिते ममाश्रयत् ॥

The work is entirely composed of ślokas. The following sections are marked :

- इति श्रीचिरत्नभजनानुशंसावदानं प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ fol. 12b.
 इत्यबोधिचर्याशेषश्रीधर्मराजाभिबोधनप्रकरणं । fol. 22b.
 इति श्रीमहेश्वरादिदेवसमुत्पादनप्रकरणं fol. 37.
 इति सर्वाकारसर्वसत्त्वप्रबोधनसद्धर्मसञ्चारणप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 52.
 इति दुर्दान्तदानवप्रबोधनबोधिचर्यावतारणप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 57.
 इत्यधोमुखसत्त्वोद्धारणप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 61.
 इति रूपमयीभूमीचतुष्पादपुरुषोद्धारणप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 64.
 इति बलिसंबोधनबोधिमागीवतारणप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 95.
 इति तमोन्मकारभूमियज्ञराक्षसपरिबोधनसद्धर्मावतारणप्रकरणं ॥
 fol. 100.
 इति शुद्धावासिकमुकुशुजदेवपुत्रोद्धारणप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 104b.
 इति सिंहलद्वीपराक्षसीपरिबोधनोद्धारणप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 108b.
 इति वाराणशीकर्मिकीटोद्धारणप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 110.

इति मागथिकसत्त्वप्रबोधनोद्धारणप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 113.

इति श्रीजैतारामविश्वभूदर्शनसुखावतीप्रत्युद्गमप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 117b.

इति सिंहलसार्थवाहोद्धारणप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 149.

इति सर्वसत्त्वोद्धारणसंबोधिमार्गस्थापनमहेश्वरोमादेवीसंबोधिव्याकरणोपदेशप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 184b.

इति सर्वसभालोकसङ्घर्मश्रवणोत्साहसंप्रमोदितस्वस्वालयप्रतिगमनप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 188b.

इति शिक्षासंवरसमुद्देशप्रकरणं ॥ fol. 199.

इति जिनश्रीराजपरिपृच्छजयश्रीसंप्रभाषितश्रीमभार्यावलोकितेश्वरगुणकारण्डव्यूहसूचराजं समाप्तं ॥ ० ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजराज-
लाजेन्द्रश्रीवानजुद्धविक्रमसाहेबप्रभुयाकुरस्य विजेराजेः । स्व एतु
संवत् १२७० दानपतिश्रीशुवर्णपरानिमहानगरे हेमवर्णमहावृहारा-
त्रथितवजाराक्ष्ये भाजुदेवेन पृतपचेकंजरेन रिषापिताः । ०

20. *Sukhāvatīvyūha-Mahāyānasūtram.*

65 leaves. 10½ in. by 3 in. Five or six lines in a page.
Dated *Samvat* 934 (A.D. 814).

The MS. begins: नमो दशदिगनन्तापर्यन्तलोकधातुप्रतिष्ठितेभ्यः सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वार्थश्रावकप्रत्यक्षेभ्यो ऽतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नेभ्यः । नमो ऽमिताभाय । नमो ऽचिन्त्यगुणोत्तरात्मने । नमो अमितप्रभाय जिनाय ते मुने । सुखावतीं यामि ते चानुकम्पया । सुखावतीं कानकविचित्रकाननां मनोरमां श्रुगतसुतैरलंकृतां । तथा वा श्रयोम्यधितयशस्य धीमतः प्रयामि तां वज्रमणिरत्नसंचयां ॥ ० ॥ एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिं समये भगवान् राजगृहे विहरति स्म । ०

It ends: भगवतो ऽमिताभस्य तथागतस्य सुखावतीगुणवर्णपरिकीर्तनबोधिसत्त्वा नाम वैवर्त्यभूमिप्रवेशः (!) ॥ अमिताभस्य परिवर्तः सुखावतीव्यूहमहायानसूत्रं समाप्तं ॥ ० संवत् १३४ कार्तिकशुदि ४ संपूर्णमभूत् ॥ श्रीसुवर्णपर्णारिमहानगरे मैत्रीपूरि महाविहारे श्रीवाक्वज्रदासवज्राचार्यस्य जयानन्दस्य च सर्वार्थसिद्धेः ॥

21. *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-mahāyānasūtram.*

204 leaves. 14 in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Dated
Samvat 916 (A.D. 1796).

It begins: बुद्धं प्रणम्य सर्वज्ञं धर्मं संधं गुणाकरम् ।

करुणापुण्डरीकाख्यं प्रवक्ष्ये बोधिसूचकम् ॥

एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् राजगृहे विहरति स्म । गृहकुटे
पर्वते महताभिज्ञसंघेन सार्धं द्वादशभिर्भिन्नुशतैः सर्वैरर्हद्भिः ०

I. इति करुणापुण्डरीकमहायानसूत्रे धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनो नाम प्रथमः
परिवर्तः ॥ fol. 7b.

II. इति० सूत्रे द्वितीयो धारणीमुखपरिवर्तः ॥ fol. 25b.

III. इति श्रीकरुणापुण्डरीके दानविसर्गस्तृतीयः ॥ fol. 54.

IV. इति श्रीक० सूत्रे बोधिसत्त्वव्याकरणपरिवर्तश्चतुर्थः ॥ fol. 160b.

V. ०सूत्रे दानपरिवर्तौ नाम पञ्चमः ॥ fol. 188b.

VI. इदमवोचद्भगवानात्तमनाः सर्वावतीर्षत्सदेवमानुषासुरश्च लोको
भगवतो भाषितमभ्यनन्दन्निति ॥ इति श्रीकरुणापुण्डरीकं नाम
महायानसूत्रं समाप्तं । ० । सं ९१६ अमृतानन्देनालिखत ॥

22. *Chaityapungara* (? *pungava*).

12 leaves, paged 12 to 34. 13 in. by 3 in. Five lines in
a page.

The MS. begins :

धर्मात्मा सुखावत्यां महीयते ॥ इति अहोरात्रव्रतकथाविधि समाप्त ॥

ओं नमो बुद्धाय ॥

नमस्ते हेमगर्भाय नमस्ते भक्तिवत्सल ।

जिनधातु नमस्तुभ्यं नमस्ते वागमयाय च ॥

इन्द्रपृष्ठोवाच । वसुबन्धो महानन्दो चैत्यपुङ्गरसूचकं ।

पृथिव्यां वेदभूतानि स्थावराणि चलानि च ॥ ० ॥

वसुबन्धोवाच । महाराज नरश्रेष्ठ इन्द्रपृष्ठेति ख्यातवान् ।

सर्वलोकहितार्थाय व्रतानामुत्तमं शृणु ॥

एवममया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् गन्धवत्यां महानगर्यां विहरति स्म ।
अनेकदेवनागाद्यैर्यत्तु गन्धर्वासुरगरुडकिन्नरमहोरगैः ।°

The following sections are marked :

इति चैत्यपुङ्गरभट्टारके स्थापनात्फलं शुभं ॥ fol. 17.

इति चैत्यपुङ्गलभट्टारके अर्चणात्फलं (!) द्वितीयः ॥ fol. 17b.

इति देवार्चणफलं द्वितीय आध्याय समाप्त ॥ fol. 21b.

इति चैत्यपुङ्गरभक्तिः अर्चनाफलं ॥ fol. 22.

इति चैत्यपुङ्गलधर्मकथामर्चनणियमकथा (!) सर्वधर्मेषु उत्तमव्रतविधानं
समाप्त ॥ fol. 23.

इति वाचमनोरमेकथापुण्यात्फलं ॥ fol. 25b.

इति अहोरात्रविधानकथाधर्माविधिव्याख्यानमुभ ॥ fol. 28b.

It ends: दानपुण्यफलं कथा चैत्यपुङ्गर संपूर्णं समाप्त ॥

23. *Madhyama-Svayambhūtpurāṇa* (? thus outside), or
(?) *Svayambhūddeśa*.

In ten chapters. 107 leaves. 13½ in. by 3¼ in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.

It begins: श्रीमता येन सद्धर्मस्त्रिलोके संप्रकाशितः ।

श्रीघनं तं महाबुद्धं वन्दे ऽहं शरणाश्रितः ॥

नत्वा त्रिजगदीशानं धर्मधातुं जिनालयम् ।

तत्स्वयंभूसमुद्देशं वक्ष्यामि शृणुतादरात् ॥

अद्वया यः शृणोतीमां स्वयंभूत्पत्तिसत्कथाम् ।

परिशुद्धत्रिकायः स बोधिसत्त्वो भवेद् ध्रुवम् ॥

तद्यथाभूत्पुरा विज्ञाजयश्रीः सुगतात्मजः ।

बोधिमण्डविहारे स विजहार ससाधिकः ॥°

I. इति श्रीस्वयंभूधर्मधातुसमुत्पत्तिनिदानकथा प्रथमो ऽध्यायः स-
माप्तः ॥ fol. 11b.

II. इति श्रीस्वयंभूचैत्यभटालकोद्देशे पूजाफलवर्णना नाम द्वितीयो°
fol. 23.

- III. इति श्रीखयंभूत्यत्तिसमुद्देशमहाद्दशोषणधातुपद्मगिरिसंप्रति-
ष्ठापनं नाम तृतीयो° fol. 35.
- IV. इति श्रीखयंभूत्यत्तिसमुत्पत्तिकथा वीतरागतीर्थराष्ट्रप्रवर्तमानो
नाम चतुर्थो° fol. 46.
- V. इति श्रीखयंभूत्यत्त्यनेकतीर्थसंजातपुण्यमाहात्यवर्णना नाम पञ्च-
मो° fol. 56.
- VI. इति श्रीखयंभूधर्मधातुवागीश्वराभिधानप्रसिद्धप्रवर्तनो नाम ष-
ष्ठो° fol. 68.
- VII. इति श्रीखयंभूधर्मधातुवागीश्वरागुप्तीव्रतप्रवर्तनो नाम सप्तमो°
fol. 80b.
- VIII. इति श्रीखयंभूचैत्याश्रमनागसाधनसुवृष्टिचारणो नामाष्टमो°
fol. 93b.
- IX. इति श्रीमहाचार्यशान्तिकरगुणसंसिद्धिमाहात्यानुभावप्रकथन-
प्रवृत्तो नामाध्यायो नवमः ॥ fol. 98b.
- X. इति जयश्रियादिष्टं श्रुत्वा सर्वेऽपि सांघिकाः ।
एवमस्त्विति प्राभाष्य प्राभ्यनन्दन्प्रसादिताः ॥
इति श्रीधर्मधातुखयमुत्पत्तिधर्ममाहात्यसुभाषितसूत्रं दशसो-
ऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

24. *Kāraṇḍavyūha-Mahāyānasūtram.*

138 leaves. 10½ in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.

It begins: एवमया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवाच्छसवत्याग्विहरति (! भ-
गवाच्छावस्थानं) स्म । जितवनेऽनाथपिण्डदस्यारामे महता भिक्षुसंघेन°

It ends: इदमवोचत भगवानात्मनस्ते च भिक्षवस्ते च बोधिसत्वा सा
च सर्वावतीर्षत्सदैवमानुषासुरगन्धर्वश्च लोको भगवता भाषितमभ्यन-
न्दन्निति ॥ आर्यकारण्डव्यूहमहायानसूत्ररत्नराजं समाप्तं ॥

25. *Vaḍikāvadānam and Gāndhārvikāvadānam.*

31 leaves. 11½ in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Modern writing.

The first treatise begins :

यः श्रीमाञ्छ्रीचनो लोके सद्धर्मं समुपादिशत् ।
 शासनानि त्रिलोकेषु जयन्तु तस्य सर्वदा ॥
 पुराभूत्याटलीपुत्रनगरे स्वर्गसंनिभे ।
 अशोको नृप राजेन्द्रस्त्रिरत्नसेवकः कृती ॥
 एकस्मिं समये तत्र स राजा स्वजनैः सह ।
 पौरिकैश्च सभां कृत्वा सद्धर्मं श्रोतुमैच्छत् ॥°

The second treatise begins fol. 28 : इति वडिकावदानं समाप्तं ॥

अथाशोको महीपालः श्रोतुमन्यत्सुभाषितम् ।
 उपगुप्तं यतिं नत्वा प्रार्थयदेवमादरात् ॥
 भवन्तः श्रोतुमिच्छामि पुनरन्यत्सुभाषितम् ।
 तद्यथा गुरुणाख्यातं तथादिष्टं च मे ऽर्हति ॥°

It ends : इति शास्त्रसमादिष्टं श्रुत्वाशोकः स भूपतिः ।
 तथेति प्रतिमोदित्वा (!) प्राभ्यनन्दत्स पार्षदः ॥
 गान्धर्विका नामावदानमेतच्छ्रुत्वानुमोदन्ति नरा मुदा ये ।
 ते सर्व एनःपरिमुक्तचित्ता भुक्त्वा सुखान्यवलभन्ति बोधिं ॥
 इति श्रीगान्धर्विकावदानं समाप्तं ॥

26. *Punyaprotsāhanam* (?).

24 leaves. 10½ in. by 4 in. Six to eight lines in a page.
 Dated *Samvat* 905 (A.D. 1785).

The treatise consists of 188 stanzas. It begins : मानुष्यं समवाय्य
 दुष्करं°

इति पुण्यकथायां । fol. 2; इति धर्मश्रवणकथाः fol. 3; इति दानक-
 थायां । fol. 6; इति पुण्यकथाः fol. 7; इति विम्वकथाः fol. 8; इति स्ना-
 नकथाः fol. 8b; इति कुकुमादिगंधकथाः ।° इति च्चकथाः । fol. 9; etc.

It ends : इति पारमितायां सकरपरिकथा शुभासितरत्नकरण्डके स-
 माप्ता ॥ कतिराचार्यसुरस्य ग्रन्थप्रमानमस्य श् । (!) °लिखितं श्रीजगद्गु-
 र्नाम्ना स्वार्थेन कृतं ॥ In the margin : पुण्यप्रोत्साहनपुष्टकं संपूर्णं

27. *Dvāvimsati-(punyotsāha-)avadānam.*

108 leaves. 13 in. by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Six lines in a page. Written in the latter part of last century.

It begins :

नत्वा श्रीशाक्यकेतुं सुरगणसहितं देवदेवाधिदेवं ।
संसाराप्तस्रवत्वं सकलगुणनिधिं गौतमं बुद्धनाथं ॥

The following are the endings of the chapters, of which IV. to XXII. are perhaps wrongly numbered :

- I. (?) इति धर्मश्रवणप्रोत्साहनकथा ॥ fol. 6.
- (?) °मनुष्यदुर्लभकथा । fol. 6b.
- (?) °द्वाविंशत्यवदानकथायां दानकथा । fol. 8b.
- V. (?) °कथायां पुण्यकामपञ्चमपरिच्छेदः । fol. 12.
- VI. °जीर्णोद्धारणविम्वकथापरिवर्तो नाम षष्ठः परिच्छेदः । fol. 21b.
- VII. °स्नानकथापरि° सप्तमः° । fol. 28.
- VIII. °कुंकुमादिदा[न]कथाप° अष्टमः° । fol. 36b.
- IX. °क्षत्रदानकथा नवमः° fol. 41.
- X. °धात्वावरोपणकथा दशमः° fol. 48b.
- XI. °मण्डलकथा एकादशमः° fol. 53b.
- XII. °भोजनकथा द्वादशः° fol. 57b.
- XIII. °यानकथा त्रयोदशमः° fol. 62.
- XIV. °वस्त्रकथा चतुर्दशमः° fol. 65.
- XV. °पुष्पकथा पञ्चदशः° fol. 69b.
- XVI. °प्रणामकथा षोडशमः° fol. 75.
- XVII. °उज्जालिकादानकथा सप्तदशमः° fol. 78b.
- XVIII. °दीपकथा अष्टादश° fol. 83b.
- XIX. °विहारकथा ऊनविंशतिप° fol. 88.
- XX. °सुवर्णभावदान विंशतिप° fol. 91b.
- XXI. °वपुष्मानवदान एकविंशतितमः । fol. 94b.

XXII. (XXI.) °चन्द्रनावदान द्वाविंशतिः° fol. 97b.

(XXII.) इति द्वाविंशतिकावदानकथायां दानकथा fol. 107b.

It ends: इति श्रीद्वाविंशतिपुण्योत्साहावदानसूत्रं समाप्तः ॥

28. *Lokesvarasatakam* by *Vajradatta*.

26 leaves. 9 in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 764 (A.D. 1644).

The MS. begins:

भास्वन्मानिक्वभास्वन्कुटभृतिनमन्नाकनाथोत्तमांगभक्तिपंके
सरोजासनशिरसि हसमालतिमालिकाभाषमौलौ मीलनमृगांका।°

It ends: °श्रीवज्रदत्तविरचिता श्रीलोकेश्वरशतकं समाप्त ॥

29. *Sragdharāstotram* with *Tikā*.

Thirty-seven sections. 39 leaves. $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.

The MS. begins:

वालाङ्गालोकात्मप्रवरसुरशिरश्चारुचूडामणिश्रीः
संपत्संपङ्क्यारागानतिचिररचितारक्तकथक्तभक्ती।°

It ends: इति श्रीसर्वज्ञमित्रविरचितं आर्धताराभट्टारिकाया स्रग्धरास्तोत्रं पूर्ण ॥

30. *Stotrasangraha*.

14 leaves. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. Five or six lines in a page. Modern writing.

I. *Sragdharāstotram*. The text only. It ends fol. 10: इति आर्ध-
ताराभट्टारकस्य श्रग्धारास्तोत्रं परिसमाप्ता ॥

II. *Saptabuddhastavastotram*. It begins: उत्पन्नो बन्धुमत्वां नृपति-
वलकुले योपिपश्यति नाम्ना° . It consists of nine couplets, and ends
fol. 12.

III. *Avalokitesvarastavarāja* in ten stanzas. It begins: विम्बविद्रु-
मतनुविनिर्जितदक्षकरवरविराजितसततसुरपतिमौलिलालितपादपं-

कजहे ।° It ends fol. 14: इति श्रीमदार्थावलोकितेश्वरस्तवराजं । इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्री २ कवीन्द्रजयप्रतापमल्लदेवविरचितं त्रिगुणात्म-
कश्री ३ मदार्थावलोकितेश्वरस्तवराजः समाप्ता ॥

IV. *Panchāksharastotram* in six ślokas. It begins:

न जातो न मितं चैव न रूपो नापि रूपवान् ।

न संसारे न निर्वाणे न कारन्तेन श्रूयते ॥

31. *Bhadrakalpāvadāna-Stotrasangraha.*

46 leaves in one continuous roll; the writing covering 69 pages. 7½ in. by 3½ in. Six lines in a page. Modern writing.

I. *Sūkyasimhastotram* in ten couplets. It begins:

नौमि श्रीशाक्यसिंहं सकलहितकरं धर्मराजं महेशं

सर्वज्ञं ज्ञानकायं त्रिमलविरहितं सौगतं बोधिराजं ।°

It ends p. 6: इति श्रीभद्रकल्पावदाने देवराजकृतं शाक्यसिंहस्तोत्रं संपूर्णं ॥

II. *Sūkyasimhastotram* in ten couplets. It begins: प्रणमामि जिनं सुगतं तपनाय हिरण्यशरीरच्छवि ।° It ends p. 10: इति° नवग्रहकृतं शाक्यसिंहस्तोत्रं°

III. *Sūkyasimhastotram* in eleven couplets. It begins: वन्दे सुनी-
द्रसुगतं षडभिज्ञनाथं° It ends p. 14: °स्ववैद्यकृतं शाक्यसिंहस्तोत्रं°

IV. *Sūkyasimhastotram* in ten couplets. It begins: नमोऽस्तु लोका-
धिपे शाक्यराजे सद्धर्मपंकेरुहभास्कराय ।° It ends p. 18: °महाब्रह्म-
कृतं श्रीशाक्यसिंहस्तोत्रं°

V. *Pratisarī stutiḥ* in 19 couplets (and three introductory Anuṣṭubh ślokas): प्रतिसर अमराद्यैः पूजितं त्वां नतो स्मि° It ends p. 26: इति श्रीभद्रकल्पावदानोद्धृतप्रतिसरी स्तुतिर्वालकृता समाप्ता ॥

VI. *Devatākalyāṇapanchaviṃśatikā* (?) in 27 couplets, with a *ṭīkā*.

It begins: श्रीमानाद्यः स्वयंभूरमितरुचिरमोघाभिधोऽद्योभ्यबुद्धं°

It ends: इति श्रीनैपालीचदेवताकल्याणपंचविंशतिकामृतानन्दविर-
चिता समाप्ता ॥

32. *Ekaviṃśatistotram (Tārāstotram).*

4 leaves. 9 in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.

Twenty-seven ślokas, beginning: नमस्तारे°

The colophon runs: इति श्रीसम्यक्संबुद्धवैरोचनभाषितं भगवत्पा-
आर्यताराभट्टारिकायाः नमस्तारे एकविंशतिस्तोत्रं समाप्त ॥

33. *Bhadracharāpranidhānam.*

In 56 (?57) couplets. 7 leaves. 10 in. by 3 in. Six or seven lines in a page. Dated *Nepāla-Samvat* 942 (A.D. 1822).

It begins: अथ खलु समन्तभद्रे बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्व एतानेव लोक-
धातुपरंपरान° कल्पप्रसरानभिद्योतयमानो भूयस्या मात्रया गाथा-
भिगीतेन प्रणिधानमकार्षीत् ॥ यावत्किंचिद्दृशदिशि लोके सर्वत्र यज्ञ-
गता नरसिंहाः ।°

It ends: आर्यभद्रचरीप्रणिधानरत्नराजं समाप्तं ।

34. *Nāmasangīti-ṭīkā*, entitled *Gūḍhapadā*.

In fifteen chapters. 180 palm-leaves. 12 in. by 2½ in. Seven lines in a page. Old. Some pages are sadly defaced.

The work begins: यज्ञश्चिरं प्रणम्यादौ जगदानन्दकारकम् ।

शून्यताककणाऽभिन्नं (!) योगतन्त्रशरीरिणम् ॥

Seven introductory ślokas; after which it proceeds:

इह खल्वभिधानाभिधेयसम्बन्धप्रयोजनप्रयोजनान्यभिसमीक्ष्य°

The chapters end:

- I. इति गूढपदायां टीकायां ग्रन्थावतारं प्रथमव्याख्यानं ॥ fol. 5.
- II. इति नामसंगीतिटीकागूढपदायामधेयणागाथा व्याख्या द्विती-
या ॥ fol. 11.
- III. इत्यार्यनामसंगीतिटीकायां गूढपदायां प्रतिवचनगाथाव्याख्या-
नस्य तृतीयोद्देशः ॥ fol. 13.
- IV. षड्गुलावलोकनगाथाव्याख्योद्देशस्तुर्थः ॥ fol. 14.
- V. षोडशगुलाभिसंबोधिक्रमगाथात्रयस्य व्याख्यानिर्देशः पञ्चमः ॥
fol. 28.

- VI. °गूढपदायां नाम मन्त्रावलोकित्यां बोधचित्तवज्रस्य वज्रधातु-
महामण्डलस्य परमरहस्याधिकारस्य व्याख्यानदेशस्य ष-
ष्ठमः ॥ fol. 386.
- VII. °लोकित्यां महावरोचनस्य धर्मधातुज्ञानस्य सुविशुद्धस्य स्तवस्य
मन्त्रनीतिक्रमेणाधिकारः सप्तमः ॥ fol. 626.
- VIII. °नाम मन्त्राचराणां अक्षोभ्यवज्रस्य आदर्शज्ञानस्वभावस्य योग-
योगिनीतन्त्रादिक्रमेण स्तुत्याधिकाराष्टमः । fol. 79.
- IX. °मन्त्राचराणां अमिताभवज्रस्य प्रत्यवेक्षणाज्ञानस्वभावस्य यो-
गयोगिनीतन्त्रक्रमेणादिनामोपदेशस्तुत्याधिकारो नवमश्चे-
ति ॥ fol. 137.
- X. °मन्त्राचराणां रत्नसंभवद्वारेण समताज्ञानस्वभावस्य नानासूत्र-
तन्त्रकल्याणमादिन्यायेनोपदेशक्रमस्तुत्याधिकारो दशमः ॥
fol. 156.
- XI. °अमोघसिद्धिद्वारेण कृत्यानुष्ठानस्वभावस्य नानायोगयोगिनीत-
न्त्रागमादिन्यायेन सम्यक्(?) उपदेशात्स्तुत्याधिकारो एका-
दशमः । fol. 1676.
- XII. नाम मन्त्रस्वभावित्यां °नानाभिप्रायोपदेशक्रमस्तुत्याधिकारो
द्वादशमः । fol. 1696.
- XIII. °गूढपदायाम्यानसंसाधिकारो (!) नाम त्रयोदशमः । fol. 1786.
- XIV. °नामार्थप्रकाशिकायाञ्च प्रज्ञाचक्रमन्त्रविन्यासाधिकारश्चतुर्दश-
मः । fol. 179.
- XV. °सर्वयानार्थसूचिकाञ्च उपसंहाराधिकारश्च पञ्चदशमः । fol. 180.

35. *Nāmasaṅgīti-tippaṇī*, entitled *Amṛitakaṇikā*.

Another commentary on the same work; and other treatises.
62 leaves, numbered 7-55, 66-78. 12 in. by 2 in. Ten lines
in a page. Very minutely written about the end of last
century.

I. The *Amṛitakaṇikā*, foll. 7-40.

Begins: विषयविषयिव्योमाक्षेपप्रवृत्तनिमित्तकं

रविशशितमोवर्त्मावृत्त्या(?)शरारिचलक्रियं ।°

Two introductory ślokas, after which :

इह खलु धान्यकटके महाचैत्ये नानातन्त्रश्रवणार्थिभिरध्येषितः श्री-
शाक्यसिंहो नाम बुद्धो भगवांश्चैत्रपूर्णमायां श्रीधर्मधातुवागीश्वरम-
ण्डलं वर्तयित्वा तदुपरि श्रीमन्नक्षत्रमण्डलमादिवुद्धं विस्फार्य तत्र
तस्मिन्नेव दिवसे बुद्धाभिषेकन्दत्वा देवादिभ्यो मन्त्रगीतिं वृहत्क्षुभेदेन
सर्वान्देशितवान् । ° । तत्र चेयमेव नामसंगीतिः परमत्वावगाहपरमा-
र्थनिधौ साविकरणत्वेन सर्वमन्त्रनयप्रधानभूता । अत्र च वज्रधरभ-
गवतः परमाचरज्ञानं सर्वं बुद्धबोधिसत्त्वानां हृदयभूतं तथागतेन प्रका-
शितं षट्कुलनाडोसमन्वितषट्चक्रव्यवस्थितद्वाषष्ट्यधिकशतश्लोकैः शेषै-
श्चाशंसादिकमिति ॥ अत्र तावदथ वज्रधरः श्रीमानित्यादिषोडशश्लोकै-
रध्येषणाव्याजेन तदेव परमाचरमाह । अथेति । ° अध्येषणानन्तरं षट्-
श्लोकप्रतिवचनमाह । अथ ।

अध्येषणागाथाः षोडश ॥ fol. 10b.

प्रतिवचनगाथाः षट् ॥ fol. 11.

षट्कुलालोकनगाथे द्वे ॥ fol. 11b.

इति निरावरणपञ्चदशकलाविशुद्धा सर्वतथागतसमाधिगतकार्यका-
रणलक्षणकृत्यानुष्ठानगाथाव्याख्या ॥ fol. 37b.

इति पञ्चतथागतज्ञानस्तुतिगाथाः पञ्च ॥ fol. 38b.

अमृतकणिका नाम श्रीनामसंगीतिटिप्पणी समाप्ता ॥

श्रीवज्राङ्कितपाणिगर्भभगवत्श्लोकेष्टीका त्वया

स्नाय्या गूढपदाश्रिताद्भुतवृहत्काश्मीरपञ्जीसखा ।

नानातन्त्ररहस्यविभ्रमवती नानोपदेशाश्रिता

प्रीता टिप्पणिका रविश्रिय इयं प्रीणातु चेतः सताम् ॥

II. *Abhishekanirukti.*

It begins : कायद्वयाश्रयं व्यापि धर्मकायं महासुखम् ।

नित्यं वज्रधरं नत्वाऽभिषेकार्यो निरुच्यते ॥

It ends fol. 45 : अभिषेकनिरुक्तिः समाप्ता । कतिरियं पण्डितसुजय-
श्रीगुप्तपादानां ॥

III. Various other little tracts :

Hevajrasahajasyoga (?).

It ends fol. 45b : कतिरियं रत्नाकरशान्तिपादानां ॥

*Panchakramopadeśa.*It ends fol. 47b : कतिरियं श्री३चियानाचार्यश्रीघण्टपादानां संप्रा-
प्तमहासूत्राणां सर्वसत्त्वार्थोदयतमनसामिति ॥*(Sūryaprabhā nāma) Guruhastagrāha*, in 33 sections.It ends fol. 50b : इति श्रीविरऽपाक्षेण कृतस्यामरसिद्धियन्त्रस्य शा-
स्त्रभिन्नुवीर्यसिंहेन विरचितः सूर्यप्रभो नाम गुरुहस्तग्राहः समाप्तः ॥ ° ॥
सांप्रतं गुरुपारंपर्यं लिख्यते ॥ ° इतः पृथक् यन्त्राणि लिख्यन्ते.*Amarasiddhiyantrakam*, 20 sections.It ends, fol. 52b : प्रज्ञासिंहेन लिखितं श्रीमदमरसिद्धियन्त्रकं समा-
प्तमिति ॥*Shaṇmarmayantrāṇi*, in 49 sections, it ends fol. 55b.*Marmopadeśa*, ends fol. 68.*Chatuḥpuravyaktadīpa*, fol. 71b.*Śalākupanchakam*, fol. 73b.*Kovrakpādena virachita Ālambanasamudra*, fol. 75b.*Rāgamārgopadeśa*, fol. 77.*Prāṇāyāmadhāraṇayor upadeśa*, apparently incomplete.36. *Bhairavaprādurbhāva-nāṭakam.*

115 leaves. 11¼ in. by 6 in. Ten lines in a page.

The first leaf is missing. Fol. 2 begins :

सूत्र । प्रिये नेपालमहीमण्डलाखण्डलमहाराजाधिराजश्री २ जयभू-
पतीन्द्रमण्डदेवेन श्री २ राजकुमारस्य उपनयनमहोत्सवे श्री ३ खेष्टदे-
वताप्रीतिकामनया भैरवप्रादुर्भावनाटकमभिनेतुमहमादिष्टो स्मि ॥

नटी । अज्जउत्त सो भूमीशरो म एणावगदो ॥

It ends : इति नवमो ङ्क ॥ सम्वत् ८३३ पौषवदि २ ॥ [A.D. 1713].

According to Thomas' Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 270, Bhûpatîndra Malla came to the throne A.D. 1695.

37. *Samputodbhava.*

In eleven *kalpas*, each of four *prakaraṇas*. 127 palm-leaves. 12½ in. by 1¾ in. Five lines in a page. Old.

It begins: एवममया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान्सर्वतथागतकायवाक्-
चित्तवज्रयोषिज्ञगेषुविजहार°

The chapters end :

इति अभिधानाभिधेयबोधिचित्तात्पादादिभावनातत्त्वप्रकरणः

प्रथमः ॥ fol. 4b.

°बोधिचित्तावतारत्नाम द्वितीयं प्रकरणं ॥ fol. 7b.

°तत्त्वोद्देशप्रकरणान्तृतीयं ॥ fol. 9.

I. इति सर्वतन्त्रनिदानरहस्यात् श्रीसंपुटोद्भवे कल्पराजः प्रथमः ॥
fol. 12.

II. °कल्पराजो द्वितीयः ॥ fol. 23.

III. °तृतीयः fol. 32.

IV. °वज्रडाकिनीसंकतकल्पराजश्चतुरः ॥ fol. 35b.

V. °चर्याकल्पः पञ्चमः fol. 43b.

VI. °महातन्त्रवसन्ततिलको नाम कल्पराजः षष्ठः ॥ fol. 53.

VII. °महातन्त्रसर्वकर्मध्यानादयो नाम° सप्तमः ॥ fol. 82b.

VIII. °सर्वक्रियासमुदयः° ऽष्टमः ॥ fol. 89b.

IX. चतुष्क्रिया° नवमः कल्पः ॥ fol. 95b.

X. °सर्वतन्त्रनिदानमहाकल्पराजः दशमः ॥ fol. 99.

XI. इति श्रीसंपुटोद्भवे महातन्त्रराजे सर्वकल्पनिदानतिलक एकाद-
शमः समाप्तः ॥°

38. *Samvarodaya-mahātantram.*

In 33 *pāṭalas*. 94 leaves. 11½ in. by 3½ in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.

It begins: एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् सर्वतथागत°

- I. Adhyeṣaṇāpaṭala, ends fol. 3.
- II. Utpattinirdeśap. fol. 5b.
- III. Utpannakramanirdeśap. fol. 7b.
- IV. Chaturbhūtapanchākārashaḍvishayadevatāvisuddhip. fol. 10.
- V. Chandrasūryāpadap. fol. 16.
- VI. Pathapanchakanirdeśap. fol. 17.
- VII. Nāḍīchakrakramopāyap. fol. 19.
- VIII. Samayasamketavidhip. fol. 23.
- IX. Chhoshmapīṭhasamketabhūminirdeśap. (!) fol. 25b.
- X. Karmaṇprasaraṇap. fol. 30b.
- XI. Mantrajāpaniyamanirdeśap. fol. 33.
- XII. Jāpamālānirdeśap. fol. 34b.
- XIII. Śrīherukodayanirdeśa, fol. 38.
- XIV. Pūjāvidhinirdeśa, fol. 40b.
- XV. Yātralakṣhaṇanirdeśa, fol. 42.
- XVI. Panchāmṛita sādhanavidhin. fol. 43b.
- XVII. Maṇḍalasūtrapātānalakṣhaṇan. fol. 47.
- XVIII. Abhisheko nāma nirdeśa, fol. 50.
- XIX. Mrityunimittadarsana-utkrāntiyogap. fol. 53.
- XX. Chaturyuganirdeśa, fol. 53b.
- XXI. Charyānirdeśa, fol. 55b.
- XXII. Devatāpratishṭhāvidhip. fol. 57.
- XXIII. Homanirdeśap. fol. 62.
- XXIV. Karmaṇprasara-oshadhīnirdeśap. fol. 67.
- XXV. Rasāyanavidhip. fol. 69.
- XXVI. Vāruṇīnirdeśap. fol. 73b.
- XXVII. Mantroddhāraavidhip. fol. 78.
- XXVIII. Homavidhip. fol. 80b.
- XXIX. Tatvanirdeśap. fol. 82.
- XXX. Chitrādirūpalakṣhaṇanirdeśap. fol. 84b.

XXXI. *Yoginîrdeśaś chatuśchakrakramabodbichittasamkramanap.* fol. 88.

XXXII. *Balyupahâranirdeśa p.* fol. 91b.

XXXIII. इति श्रीसम्बरोदयमहातन्त्रे श्रीहेतुकाभिधाने महामन्त्रराज-
त्रिलोचोद्धृतसहजोदयकल्पे सर्वयोगिनीरहस्य पठितसिद्धि
त्रायत्रिंशत्तित्तमः पटल समाप्तं ॥° वर्षे नेपालिकेऽपांपति-
जलधिमणौ° योगानन्दाभिधेनाभिलिखितं° [F *Samvat*
544, date of original MS.]

39. *Yogāmbāratāntram.*

27 leaves. 10 in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Modern and careless writing.

It begins: ज्योतिर्भिर्विजितं यदस्य जगती°

इति संज्ञवज्रमण्डल ॥ १ ॥ fol. 9; ॥ ३ ॥ fol. 19b; इति मन्त्रः सार्वक-
र्मिकः ॥ fol. 25.

It ends: वज्रामृतमण्डल इति ॥ इति योगान्तरतंत्र समाप्तः ॥

40. *Dvātriṃṣatkālpa-mahātāntrarāja.*

Two chapters (*kalpas*) only, viz. the *Hevajra* and the *Dākinījāsamvara-mahātāntram*. 48 leaves. 12 in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Modern writing.

Imperfect in the beginning. The first leaf begins:

लतु द्वितीयेन घण्टानादं तृतीयकं । सर्वाङ्कारं सपूर्णं सुशोभवस्त्रि-
मन्दितं (!) ॥

A. I. सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तहेवज्रवज्रकुलपटलः प्रथमः ॥ fol. 3b.

II. मन्त्रपटलः द्वितीयः fol. 6.

III. °चित्ते हेवज्रदेवतापटलस्तृतीयः fol. 7b.

IV. अभिषेकपटलश्चतुर्थः fol. 8.

V. तत्त्वपटलः पञ्चमः fol. 9b.

VI. चर्यापटलः षष्ठः fol. 11.

VII. ह्योमापटलः (!) सप्तमः ॥ fol. 13.

VIII. इति योगिनीचक्रो नाम महायोगिनीनां मेलायकपटलोऽष्टमः
fol. 16.

IX. विशुद्धिपटल नवमः fol. 17b.

X. अभिषे[क]पटलो दशमः fol. 20.

हेवज्रडाकिनीजालसम्बरवज्रगर्भाभिसंवीधि नाम प्रथमः कल्पराजः
समाप्तः ॥ fol. 21.

B. I. होमनिर्णयप्रतिष्ठापटल प्रथमः । fol. 22.

II. सिद्धिनिर्णयो नाम द्वितीयः° fol. 25b.

III. हेवज्रसर्वतन्त्रनिदानसन्ध्योत्पाद तृतीयः° fol. 30.

IV. °तन्त्रमुद्रणं पिंडार्थो नाम चतुर्थः° fol. 37.

V. हेवज्राभ्युदयः पञ्चमः° fol. 41.

VI. हेवज्रपटलविधाने पटलः षष्ठः fol. 42.

VII. भोजनपटलः सप्तमः fol. 42b.

VIII. विने[य]पटलो नामाष्टमः fol. 43b.

IX. मन्त्रोद्धारो पटलो नवमः fol. 46.

X. जापपटलो° दशमः fol. 46b.

XI. सहजार्थपटलो नामैकादशमः । fol. 47b.

महामन्त्रराजमायाकल्पो द्वितीयः ॥ °श्रीहेरुकं नाम योगिनीजालपञ्जलं
समाप्तमिति ॥ ° ॥ इति द्वात्रिंशत्कल्पोद्धृतकल्पद्वयात्मकमहातन्त्र-
राजे श्रीहेवज्रः डाकिनीजासम्बरमहातन्त्रराजः समाप्तः ।

41. *Kṛishṇayamāritantra-Tīkā.*

In fifty-four *patalas*. 182 leaves. 13 in. by 2½ in. Five lines in a page. Modern handwriting.

The MS. begins :

श्रीमद्यमद्विषमशेषगुणप्रसूतिं सम्बर्त्तकालनवनीलकान्तिं ।

वक्त्रचयो कुलिशखड्गधरं सकर्त्तिञ्चक्राञ्जकर्परतृन्मनसा नमामि (!) ॥

एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् सर्वतथागत° विजहार । मोह-
वज्रयमारिणा च । पिशुनवज्रयमारिणा च । रागवज्रयमारिणा च ।

ईर्ष्यावज्रयमारिणा च । द्वेषवज्रयमारिणा च । मुद्गरयमारिणा च ।
दण्डयमारिणा च । पद्मयमारिणा च । खड्गयमारिणा च । वज्रचर्चि-
कया च । वज्रवाराह्या च । वज्रसरस्वत्या च । वज्रगौरी च । एवं प्रमु-
खैर्महायमारिसंघैः ॥ अथ खलु भगवान्°

I. इति सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तकृष्णायमारिमहातन्त्रे अ-
भिसमयपटलः प्रथमः ॥ fol. 4b.

II. °तन्त्रे मण्डलपटलो° fol. 5b.

III. °कर्मयोगपटलस्° fol. 6b.

IV. °चतुर्थपटलः fol. 11.

V. °वज्रानुपूर्वलिखनं नाम° fol. 13.

VI. °चक्रावलोकनो नाम° fol. 14.

VII. °आकर्षणादिप्रयोग° fol. 16.

VIII. °होमविधि° fol. 17b.

IX. °यमारिभीमो नाम fol. 18b.

X. °वेतालसाधनानुसृतिभावना° fol. 19b.

XI. °चर्यासमयसाधनप° fol. 21b.

XII. °सर्वापायिकविशेषको नाम° fol. 23.

XIII. °सिद्धिनिर्णय° fol. 25.

XIV. °मञ्जुवज्रसाधनं नाम° fol. 28b.

XV. °वज्रानंगसाधनः° fol. 30.

XVI. °हेरुकसाधनः° fol. 31.

XVII. °बोधिचित्तनिगदन° fol. 33.

XVIII. °कायवाक्चित्तकथा° fol. 33b.

XIX. °अभिसमयव्याख्यानप° fol. 42.

XX. °ग्रन्थसमूहपटलः व्याख्यानविंशतित्तमः fol. 47.

XXI. इति सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तग्रन्थसमूहः कर्मयोगपटलः°
fol. 50.

XXII. इति कृष्णयमारितन्त्रे वाक्स्तम्भनप° fol. 56b.

XXIII. °अभिमतार्थपरिच्छेदप° fol. 59.

- XXIV. °योगसम्यक्क्रमेण निश्चायते पटलः° fol. 63b.
- XXV. °अभिचारपटलः° fol. 67b.
- XXVI. °भस्मप्रवाहणः° fol. 71b.
- XXVII. °भीमो व्याख्यानपटलः° fol. 75.
- XXVIII. °वेतालसाधनव्याख्यान° fol. 76b.
- XXIX. °वज्रामृतबोधिचित्तप्रयोगः° fol. 78b.
- XXX. °मण्डलचक्रपूजागीत° fol. 82b.
- XXXI. °सिद्धिनिर्णयचिह्नप्रवेशाद्यपटलः° fol. 84b.
- XXXII. °मण्डलप्रवेशविधि° fol. 93b.
- XXXIII. °मङ्गुवज्रसाधनयन्त्रोक्त° fol. 105.
- XXXIV. °अनङ्गसाधनयन्त्रोक्त° fol. 107.
- XXXV. °सर्वचक्रस्य निष्पत्तिरतियोगो विभावितपटलः° fol. 115.
- XXXVI. °अष्टादशपटलायां व्याख्यानादिमहायोगपटलः° fol. 118b.
- XXXVII. °स्वप्नमायोपमपारंगभावना° fol. 122b.
- XXXVIII. °मन्त्रलक्षण° fol. 125.
- XXXIX. °वज्रसत्त्वस्य चर्याकल्पपटलो° fol. 128.
- XL. °नाडीचक्रपटल° fol. 129.
- XLI. °देशन्यासः° fol. 131b.
- XLII. °देशशूचनप° fol. 133.
- XLIII. °चक्रसाध्याशान्तिकप° fol. 138b.
- XLIV. °वल्युपहारप° fol. 142.
- XLV. °चर्याकृतप° fol. 145.
- XLVI. °चतुर्गुलक्रियाप° fol. 147.
- XLVII. °महासुखसिद्धिपूजासत्कारो नाम प° fol. 149b.
- XLVIII. °बुद्धमायाविकुचितं नाम योगपटलः° fol. 150b.
- XLIX. °अष्टादशपटलायां व्याख्यानादिसर्वतन्त्रनिदान° fol. 162b.
- L. °भूतसाधनप° fol. 165.
- LI. °सुक्रयमारिसाधनकर्मप्रसराणि प° fol. 170b.
- LII. °पीतयमारिसाधनप° fol. 175b.

LIII. °रक्तयमारिसाधनप° fol. 179.

LIV. °श्यामयमारिसाधनपटलः चतुर्ध्वासत्तमः ॥ इदमवोच भगवा ॥ ° ॥ इत्यार्यकृष्णयमारिमहातन्त्रे व्याख्यानादि-
महामन्त्रराजडोडियानविनिर्गतः सपादलब्धादुद्धृतः स-
माप्तः ॥ ° ॥ श्रीयमारितन्त्रे टीकेयं लिखिता मया । श्री-
घनस्यानुभावेन लोकानां पुण्यवृद्धये ॥ श्रीमन्नैपालिके
वर्षे माणिक्यजलनन्दने ।°

42. *Kriyāpanjikā*, by *Kuladatta*.

In three *prakaraṇas*. 46 leaves. 11 in. by 3¼ in. Seven lines in a page. Oldish.

It begins : महागमात्सदाम्नायात्सच्छिष्याश्चैषणावशात् (!) ।

वज्रसत्त्वं जगन्नाथं नत्वेयं क्रियते मया ॥°

इति श्रीकुलदर्त्तमहापण्डितविरचितायां (!) पञ्जिकायां प्रथमप्रकरणं
fol. 96.

इति महापण्डितकुलदर्त्तविरचितायां °द्वितीय° fol. 24.

इति श्रीमहापण्डितकुलदर्त्तवि° तृतीयप्रकरणं समाप्तं ॥

Foll. 21-42 were written by a different copyist from the rest.

43. *Tattvajñānasamsiddhi-tippuṇṇī*.

Incomplete at the end. 8 palm leaves. 12¾ in. by 1¾ in. Six lines in a page. Old.

It begins : श्रीयुतमर्थतो भद्रं मुनिशान्तं नमामि तं ।

यस्यार्थग्रहमात्रेण स्वाधिष्ठानं मतं स्फुटं ॥

तत्त्वज्ञानस्य संसिद्धेः साधनस्य विगूढकं ।°

After three introductory ślokas : एतत्साधनेन गुरुपरम्परायात् यद्-
भीष्टं प्रतिपादितं भवति लभ्यं तदेव । आदौ प्रथमश्लोक एव निदर्शयति ।
एतन्मनसि कृत्वाशंसाद्वारेण भगवतीं स्तुवन्नाह । दुर्यातेत्यादि (?) ।°

इति तत्त्वज्ञानसंसिद्धौ टिप्पण्यां बाह्यपूजाविधि समाप्तः fol. 5.

The MS. ends : इति° टिप्पण्यां भावनाविधिः समाप्तः ॥ इदानीं

श्रिष्यसंग्रहे यथान्नायं तिथ्यादिकं लिख्यते । and two more lines to the end of the page 8b.

44. The *Aparārdha* of the *Guhyasamāja*.

In fifteen *patalas*. 121 leaves. 10½ in. by 3½ in. Six or seven lines in a page. Modern careless handwriting.

It begins: एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्त्रिं समये०

I. इति महागुह्यातिगुह्ये गुह्यसमाजे परार्धे सर्वतन्त्रनिदानरह-
स्यात् श्रीसंपुटोद्भवकल्पराजः प्रथमः पटलः fol. 15b.

II. ०कल्पराजो द्वितीयः । fol. 31.

III. ०परार्धे महातन्त्रराजे हेरुकोत्पत्तिस्तृतीयः पटलः । fol. 33b.

IV. ०राजे नैरात्म्यसाधनं नाम चतुर्थपटलः । fol. 38.

V. ०संयुगोद्भव० fol. 44b.

VI. ०वज्रडाकिनीसंकतकल्पराजं नाम० fol. 50.

VII. ०चर्यालिंगनं० fol. 59.

VIII. ०तन्त्रराजे अष्टमः० fol. 66b.

IX. ०वसन्ततिलकवर्णनं० fol. 77b. (X.?).

XI. ०तिलकाभुद्रणञ्चानं० fol. 85b.

XII. ०होमप्रयोगकथनं० fol. 96.

XIII. ०सर्वकर्मप्रसरचक्रोदयो नाम० fol. 105b.

XIV. महाभैरवध्याने कथनं नाम० fol. 113.

XV. ०सर्वकल्पराजनिदानतिलकं नाम पंचदशः पटलः । समाप्तः
गुह्यसमाजापरार्धः ॥

45. *Pinḍapātrāvadānakathā*.

9 leaves. 10½ in. by 2½ in. Five lines in a page. Modern.

It begins :

प्रत्येकबुद्धाय च संनिधाय पीण्डप्रदानात्पिण्डे (!) पूर्वजन्मनि ।

तस्मात्प्रदानाद्भुवि शक्रकल्पे दीपावभूमौ च पतिर्बभूव ॥

तद्यथानुश्रूयते । नयविनयादिभैचीगुणसमुदयाकीर्णदीपावतीमहा-
नगर्यां सर्वनन्दो नाम नरपतिरासीत्०

46. *Ekallavīratāntram* [*Chandamahāroshanatantram*].

In twenty-five *patalas*. 50 palm leaves. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 3 in. Seven or eight lines in a page. Old.

It begins: एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् वज्रसत्त्वः°

इत्येकलवीराख्ये श्रीचण्डमहारोषणतन्त्रे तन्त्रावतारणपटलः प्रथमः°

fol. 2.

It ends: इत्येकलवीरं नाम चण्डमहारोषणतन्त्रं समाप्तं ॥

47. *Mahākālatantram*.

In thirty *patalas*. 53 leaves. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 3 in. Seven lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 921 (A.D. 1801).

It begins: एवमया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान्देवीनां भगेषु यथा विजहारेदिति (!)°

I. इति श्रीमहाकालतन्त्रे वार्जितस्वार्थगमनपटलः प्रथमः° fol. 3b.

II. °कुण्डाभिनयपटलव्याख्याने द्वितीय । fol. 4.

III. °मन्त्रपटलः° fol. 6b.

IV. °वज्राभिषेकपटलः° fol. 7.

V. °तन्त्रराजि देवताभिषेकपटलः° fol. 7b.

VI. °परिचर्यापटल° fol. 8b.

VII. देवतोत्थानः° fol. 15.

VIII. °क्लिङाभूमिनिर्णयो (!)° fol. 19.

IX. °तन्त्रराजदेवीपरिपृच्छावादो नाम गुटिकाः पटलो° fol. 22b.

X. °पादुकपटलो° fol. 24b.

XI. °देवीप्रभामण्डितम्° fol. 25b.

XII. °अञ्जनपटलो° fol. 26b. (XIII.?).

XIV. °रससाधन° fol. 29b.

XV. °राज्यराजकथन° fol. 38.

XVI. °वेदुसाधन (!)° fol. 41.

XVII. °वज्रपटलः° fol. 42b.

XVIII. °व्याहृतप° ib.

- XIX. °राजस्तम्भनं° fol. 43b.
 XX. °सारशोप° (!) fol. 47.
 XXI. °सिद्धिनिर्णय° fol. 47b.
 XXII. °वर्षावर्षपटलो° fol. 48b.
 XXIII. °सर्वसत्त्वस्वार्थायपटलः fol. 50 (XXIV. fol. 50b).
 XXV. °प्रचराक्षपटलः (!) ° fol. 52.
 XXVI. °मुद्रामण्डल° ib.
 XXVII. °शिक्षापटलः° fol. 52b (XXVIII. ib.; XXIX. fol. 53).
 XXX. °इति श्रीवज्रमहाकालतन्त्रराजे सहजोदयकल्पे चिंशतिपटल
 समाप्तः ॥

48. *Bhūtadāmaratantram.*

In twenty-six *patalas*. 57 leaves. 13 in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.

It begins : अथातो भूतडामरमहातन्त्रराजे सर्वभूतभूतानां साधन-
 विधिविस्तरं प्रवक्ष्यामि । इत्याह भगवान्महावज्रधरस्त्रीलोक्याधिपतिः°

I. इति भूतडामरमहातन्त्रराजे इष्टभूतराजा कल्पः प्रथमः पटलः
 fol. 9.

II. °कर्मपिशाचिनीभूतिनीसाधनविधिविस्तरः° fol. 12.

III. and IV. °अष्टामहाकात्यायनीमुद्रालक्षणविधिविस्तरतन्त्र°
 fol. 14, 17.

V. °महामण्डलविधिविस्तरः° fol. 20.

VI. °महामण्डलप्रवेशविधि° fol. 20b.

VII. °सिद्धिमहामण्डलमन्त्रविधि° fol. 22.

VIII. °महामण्डलमुद्रालक्षणविधि° fol. 25.

IX. °सर्वदेवताया महामुद्राविधि° fol. 27.

X. °महामण्डलदर्शनविधि° fol. 28b.

XI. °किङ्करसाधनविधिविस्तर° fol. 30.

XII. °वेष्टिसाधनविधिविस्तर° fol. 32.

XIII. °अष्टाभूतिनीसाधनविधि° fol. 35.

- XIV. and XV. °अष्टावत्सरसाधन° fol. 37b, 38b.
 XVI. and XVII. °यक्षिणीसाधन° fol. 42, 43.
 XVIII. and XIX. °नागिनीसाधनविस्तर° fol. 45b, 46.
 XX. °षट्चिह्नरीसाधनविधि° fol. 47.
 XXI. °क्रोधराजमण्डलविधि° fol. 50b.
 XXII. °किङ्करसाधनविस्तर° fol. 53.
 XXIII. °सिद्धिसाधनविधिविस्तर° fol. 53b.
 XXIV. °अष्टाभूतमुद्रालक्षण° fol. 54b.
 XXV. °भूतिनीमारणविधि° fol. 55b.
 XXVI. °अष्टाडामरपटलः षड्विंशतितमः समाप्तः ॥

49. *Kālachakra-tantram.*

In five *patalas*. 180 leaves. 10½ in. by 4 in. Six lines in a page. Modern writing.

It begins: सर्वज्ञं ज्ञानकार्यं दिनकरचपुषं पद्मपत्रायताक्षं सिंहासनस्थं सुखरतमितं (!) मस्तुकेन प्रणम्य ।°

- I. (169 stanzas) इति श्रीमदादिवुद्धोद्धृते श्रीकालचक्रे लोकधातुविन्यासपटलः प्रथमः ॥ fol. 30.
 II. (180 stanzas) °अध्यात्मनिर्णयो नाम पटलो द्वितीयः ॥ fol. 61.
 III. (203 stanzas) °अभिषेकपटलस्तृतीयः fol. 95.
 IV. (234 stanzas) °साधनपटलश्चतुर्थः fol. 135.
 V. (261 stanzas) इति श्रीद्वादशसाहस्रिकादिवुद्धोद्धृते श्रीमति कालचक्रे ज्ञातपटलः पंचमः ॥ इति श्रीमत्कालचक्रतन्त्रराजं समाप्तं ॥

50. *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanam.*

99 leaves. 8½ in. by 2½ in. Five lines in a page. Modern writing.

It begins: एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान्सर्वदेवोत्तमनन्दनवने विहरति स्म ।°

आदियोगो नाम समादिः fol. 24 (fol. 13 in No. 51).

मण्डलराजाग्रो नाम समाधि: fol. 29. (fol. 19b. *ibid.*).

कर्मराजाग्रो° fol. 32b.

It ends: सर्वदुर्गतिपरिशोधने तेजोराजस्य तथागतस्यार्हतः सम्यसं-
बुद्धस्य कल्यैकदशः समाप्तमिति ॥

51. *Durgatiparisodhanī.*

Apparently part of the preceding work, though differing in the beginning. 31 leaves. 12 in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 919 (A.D. 1799).

It begins: विधूतसर्वसंकल्पं भावाभावविवर्जितं ।

शाक्यसिंहं नमस्कृत्वा (!) शुद्धं प्रकृतिनिर्मलं ॥

तत्साधनं प्रवक्ष्यामि सर्वदुर्गतिसोधनं (!) ।

गर्भपादानुसारिण समाधिचयमुत्तमं ॥

प्रथमं तावद्वोगी°

It ends: दुर्गतिपरिसोधनि अभिसमयसाधनं समाप्त इति ॥

52. *Tantraslokaśaṅgraha.*

154 ślokas. 13 leaves. 10½ in. by 3 in. Eight lines in a page. Oldish. Much worm-eaten.

It begins: गुरुबुद्धं गुरुधर्मं गुरुसंघं तथैव च ।

गुरुवज्रधरं चैव गुरुं सर्वं नमाम्यहं ॥

It ends: इति तन्त्रश्लोकसंग्रह समाप्त ॥ कृतिरियं वज्रगुरुजिनहर्षेण
संग्रह इति ॥

53. (*Gītapustakam.*)

A collection of 139 vernacular hymns, without title, the above designation being given on Mr. Hodgson's slip. 76 leaves (of which 1, 70, and 75 are missing). 8¾ in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Dated (after hymn 133) *Samvat* 825 (A.D. 1705).

54. *Kankīrṇa-tantram.*

26 leaves (and three *patrāṅkas*). 10¾ in. by 3¾ in. Seven lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 944 (A.D. 1824).

It begins:

ओं शुन्यं वज्रसत्त्वोत्भवप्रकासितं । ० । उकाकारे तथागतोत्पन्नं भावयेत् ०

Consisting chiefly of formulas mostly beginning with ओं or नमः and dhāraṇīs. The title does not occur at the end; but it is given outside and the leaves are marked कं०

55. *Dhāraṇī-sangraha.*

240 leaves. 15½ in. by 4 in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 911 (A.D. 1791).

It begins: एवममया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् आवस्थ्यां विहरति स्म । जेतवनेऽनाथपिण्डस्वारामे महता भिक्षुसंघेन सार्द्धं०

आर्यसप्तशतिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता परिसमाप्ता ॥ ० । इति प्रज्ञापारमिताधारणी समाप्ता ॥ fol. 37.

इत्यभिसमयालंकारे प्रज्ञापारमितोपदेशशास्त्रे सर्वाकारज्ञताधिकारः प्रथमः । fol. 40b.

इत्यभिसमयालङ्कारं नाम प्रज्ञापारमितोपदेशशास्त्रं नवमं समाप्तं ॥ छतिरार्यमैत्रेयनाथस्य ॥ fol. 51.

आर्यश्रीपीतवर्षप्राज्ञापारमिताधारणी समाप्ता ॥ ० ॥ आर्यप्रज्ञापारमिताधारणी समाप्ता fol. 51b.

इत्यार्यश्रीकरुणापुण्डरीकमहायानसूत्रे इयं सर्वज्ञताकारधारणी समाप्ता ॥ ० ॥ आर्यउष्णीषचक्रप्रवर्ति नाम धारणी समाप्ता ॥ fol. 60.

इति सप्तबुद्धस्तवः समाप्तः fol. 63.

आर्यषट्पारमिताहृदय नाम धारणी समाप्ता ॥ fol. 63b.

इति पक्षाष्टकं संयक्संबुद्धभाषितं समाप्तं ॥ fol. 64.

आर्यजम्बलजलेन्द्रस्य नाम धारणी० fol. 64b.

आर्यश्रीवसुधारा नाम धारणी० fol. 79b.

आर्यमोघपाशनामहृदयं महायानसूत्रं० fol. 87b.

इति सिंहनादलोकेश्वरस्य व्याधिप्रशमणिधारणी० fol. 88 ॥ ० a

number of short dhāraṇīs to fol. 109.

महासाहस्रप्रमर्दनी नाम विद्याधारणी° fol. 122:

आर्यमहामायूरीविद्याराज्ञी नाम धारणी° fol. 136b.

Again a number of dhāraṇīs, after which :

इति श्रीबोधिसत्वचर्याप्रस्थानोद्दिशभूमीश्वरो नाम महायानसूत्रं
रत्नराजं° fol. 148b.

Thence to the end a great number of dhāraṇīs, stavas, stotras, etc.

The MS. ends : इति श्रीभीमस्यनस्तोत्रं (!) संपूर्णं ॥° हेमवर्णमहावि-
हारया वज्राचार्यश्रीबुधनृत्तिश्वरेन श्री ३ धारणीसंग्रह सफलौ°

On the wrapper the book is called :

सप्तशतीप्रज्ञापारमिता आदिधारणी.

56. *Pancharakshā.*

152 leaves. 12 in. by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Five lines in a page. Dated
Samvat 887 (A.D. 1767). Some leaves have been supplied by
a more modern hand.

It begins : एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान्महावज्रमेरुशिखले
कुटातीरे विहरति स्म ।°

आर्यमहाप्रातसराया महाविद्याराज्ञी प्रथमकल्पः समाप्तः fol. 31.

°विद्याराज्ञीविधानकल्पो विद्याधरस्यायं समाप्तः fol. 39.

आर्यमहासाहस्रप्रमर्दनी नाम महायानसूत्रं समाप्तं fol. 83.

आर्यमहामायूरीविद्याराज्ञी अविनष्टायक्षमुखान्प्रतिलच्छा समाप्त
fol. 141.

आर्यमहाशीतवती नाम विद्याराज्ञी समाप्तः fol. 145b.

It ends : आर्यमहारत्नामन्त्रानुशारिणि समाप्त ॥ आर्यमहाप्रतिसरा ।
आर्यमहासाहस्रप्रमर्दनी । आर्यमहामायूरी । आर्यमहाशीतवती ।
आर्यमहामन्त्राणुसारिणी । एतानि पञ्च महारत्नासूत्राणि समाप्त ॥°

57. *Pancharakshā.*

40 leaves. 10 in. by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Five lines in a page. Oldish.

It begins with a number of invocations :

ओं भगवत्यै । आर्यमहाप्रतिसरायै०

It ends : इत्यार्यमहारत्ना महामन्त्रानुसारणी समाप्तः ॥

58. *Vasudhârâ-dhâraṇî.*

21 leaves. 14 in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 759 (A.D. 1639).

It begins : कल्पोदितेन विधिना परिपथ्यमाना याधारयं विधिरत्न-
सुवर्णमयी०

59. A collection of *Dhâraṇîs*,
called *Saptavâra* on the wrapper.

26 leaves. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. Five lines in a page. Oldish.

It begins : नमो भगवत्यै आर्यश्रीवसुधारायै । नमो रत्नत्रयाय ।
दिव्यरूपि सुरूपी च सौम्यरूपी वरप्रदा । वसुन्धरी वसुधारी च वसु-
श्रीश्रीकरिवरा । धरणी धारणी०

आर्यश्रीवसुधारा नामाष्टोत्तरशतकं बुद्धभाषितं समाप्त । fol. 4; etc.

आर्यमारीची नाम धारणी समाप्तमिति fol. 16b.

Foll. 17-26, which have a separate paging, contain the *Grahamâtrikâ-dhâraṇî*. Cf. No. 79.

60. *Grahamâtrikâ.*

Identical with the last portion of the preceding MS. 13 leaves. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 818 (A.D. 1698).

61. *Pratyangirâ-dhâraṇî.*

14 leaves. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 3 in. Five lines in a page. Written in the last century.

It begins : नमो भगवत्यै आर्यमहाप्रत्यगिरायै (!) ॥ एवं मया श्रुतमे-
कस्मिन्समये भगवान्देवेषु त्रयस्त्रिंशेषु विहरति स्म ।०

It ends : आर्यसर्वतथागतोष्णीषशितान्तप्रतो नामाप्रराजिता महा-
प्रतिगिरा (!) नाम धारनिमहाविद्याराज्ञी समाप्त ॥

62. *Mañjuśrī-pratijñā*.

22 leaves. 10 in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Written A.D. 1835.

It begins: बुद्धं धर्मं च संघं च चिरत्नाग्रमनुत्तरं ।

प्रणम्य सहसोवाच मञ्जुश्रीः कण्ठाम्बरं ॥ ° ॥

भगवानाह । सांप्रतं शृणु मञ्जुश्रीः° (Dialogue between Buddha and Mañjuśrī).

It ends: इति सर्वतथागतद्वादशसाहस्रपाराजिकाविनयसूत्रोद्धृतश्री-
मन्मुनीन्द्रमुखकमलविनिर्गतपापपरिमोच नाम निर्देशः पतरः (1 पट-
लः?) समाप्तः ॥ सम्वत् शाक्य १८९२ साल नेपा १५५ । °

63. *Śatusāhasrī Prajñāpāramitā*.

The second *Khaṇḍa*, from the 12th to the 25th *parivarta*. 329 leaves. 15 in. by 7 in. 17-20 lines in a page. Modern.

It begins: पृथिवीधात्वसत्तया युष्मच्छारद्वतीपुत्रपूर्वान्ततो बोधि-
सत्त्वो नोपेति ।°

The 15th *parivarta* ends fol. 366 (1?); the 12th fol. 71; the 13th fol. 106b; the 14th fol. 124; the 16th fol. 177b; the 17th fol. 186; the 18th fol. 194b; the 19th fol. 198b; the 20th fol. 199b; the 21st fol. 210b; the 22nd fol. 220; the 23rd fol. 168; the 24th fol. 288.

The MS. ends: शतसाहस्र्याः प्रज्ञापारमितायाः पंचविंशतिमः परि-
वर्त्तः द्वितीयखण्ड समाप्तः ॥ ° ॥

The leaves are marked द्वितीय° in the margin.

64. *Meghasūtram*.

The 64th and 65th *parivartas*. 32 leaves. 11½ in. by 2¼ in. Five lines in a page. Modern.

It begins: एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान्नन्दोपनन्दनागराज-
भवने विहरति स्म ।°

शतसाहस्रिकान्महामेघान्महायानसूत्रात् वर्षागमनमण्डलो नाम च-
तुःषष्टितमः परिवर्त्तः ॥ fol. 21b.

It ends: इति श्रीमहामेघान्महायानसूत्राद्वातमण्डलीपलिवर्तः पञ्च-
षष्टितमः समाप्तः ॥

65. *Adhivāsana-vidhi.*

Partly vernacular. 200 leaves. $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Six lines in a page. Modern handwriting.

It begins: ततो अधिवासनविधि । सूत्र आदिनव्याख्यानमो°

जलपात्रपूजा fol. 2; ध्वजे आत्मपूजा fol. 3; इति कुक्षपूजा fol. 4; इति
वृत्तिकादयके विधि fol. 4b; चिदेव आसनपूजा: fol. 5b, etc.

It ends: ध्वजे अधिवासनविधि समाप्त ॥

66. *Prayogamukham.*

On the philosophy of grammar. 48 leaves. 11 in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Six or seven lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 918 (A.D. 1798).

It begins: विज्ञातसकलज्ञेयमुत्तीर्णभवसागरं ।

प्रणम्य सुगतं सम्यगुच्यते शब्दशासनं ॥

In five *paṭalas*:

The *Kāraka* ends fol. 14b; the *Samāsa* fol. 25; the *Taddhita* fol. 37; the *Ṭīn* fol. 42 (which is missing); the *Kṛit* fol. 48.

It ends: कारकपटल[समास]पटलतद्वितपटलतिङ्पटलकृतपटल
इति पञ्च पटला नियमिताः ॥ इति प्रयोगमुखः समाप्तः ॥ ° ॥ श्रीमान्दे-
वसंस्कारितः श्रीवज्राचार्यवीरदत्तदेवेण रिषितं ॥

67. *Anumānakhaṇḍam.*

69 palm leaves. 12 in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. Eight or nine lines in a page. Old.

It begins: यद्योगादन्द्विष्यं संसारे भ्रमदिष्यते ।

सा त्वया (?) वशगैः पापस्थैरबुद्धिरपास्यते ॥

इह परे सकलपदार्थस्त्वैर्यप्रराधनार्थं प्रत्यक्षमनुमानमर्थयितुं प्रमाणे
चक्षते ।°

Incomplete at the end. The title is given on the wrapper only.

68. *Shadāṅgayoga-tippaṇī.*

29 palm leaves. 12 in. by 2 in. Six or seven lines in a page. Oldish.

It begins: श्रीकालचक्रमीश्वरमभिवन्द्य गुणैर्गुरुगुरुंश्च मया श्रीमति षडङ्गयोगे गुणभरणी टिप्पणी क्रियते। इह खलु वहिरध्यात्मविद्याभ्यासभावितचित्तसन्नतिराचार्यानुपमरचितो निरालम्बकल्पतत्त्वोपदेशभावनया श्रीसशर्पणे (?) द्वादश सम्वत्सराननैषीत् ।°

It ends: षडङ्गयोगटिप्पणी समाप्ता ॥ कतिरिचं महापण्डितरवि-श्रीज्ञानपादानां ॥

69. *Ādikarmapradīpa.*

13 palm leaves (of which fol. 11 is missing). 12½ in. by 2 in. Five lines in a page. Old. The date (in the reign of *Devapāla* ?) is given at the end in letters. It requires some familiarity with the character to make out the writing.

It begins: प्रणम्य श्रीगुरुन् (?)° ।

आदिकर्मप्रदीपन्तद° ॥ ° ॥

तत्रादौ दर्शिता ये तु मन्त्राः पूजादिकर्मसु ।

आकृष्यैकत्र सम्मिष्टे लिखन्ते ते तु नान्यथा ॥

मुखसौचादिकं (?) कृत्वा प्रार्थनान् (?) जपन्तथा ।

नामसंगीतिपाठञ्च कुर्यात्प्रणिधिकोऽथ च (?) ॥

It ends: आदिकर्मप्रदीप समाप्त ॥ कतिराचार्यानुपमवज्रस्य ॥°

70. *Poshavidhānam.*

6 palm leaves. 11½ in. by 2 in. Seven lines in a page. Old. Apparently formulas and invocations.

It begins: नमो बुद्धाय ॥ ओं वज्रोदक ह्रीं । ओं वज्रपुष्पं ह्रीं etc.

It ends: पोषविधान समाप्ता ॥

71. *Ahorātravratākathā.*

In ślokas. 8 leaves. 14 in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Written in the latter part of last century.

It begins: आकाशनिर्मलो भूतो निःप्रपञ्चगुणाश्रयः ।

पञ्चस्कन्धात्मकः शान्तस्तस्यै स्तूपात्मने नमः ॥

एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये बुद्धो भगवांश्चावत्यां विहरति स्म ।°

It ends: इत्यहोरात्रव्रतकथाविधि समाप्तं ॥

72. *Balipūjāvidhi.*

On Tantric ceremonial. Partly vernacular. 40 leaves folded into one continuous roll. $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. Five lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 908 (? 808).

तत्राग्निकुण्डाधिष्ठान p. 7; इति मांसाहुतिहोमविधि p. 40; etc.

It ends: इति वलिपूजाविधि समाप्त ॥

The work is called on the wrapper: यज्ञवलिपूजाविधि.

73. *Nishpānnayogāmbalī. [°yogāmbaratāntram].*

66 leaves. 12 in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 944 (A.D. 1824).

The leaves are marked णिप्प-ज्ञयो.

It begins: एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान्सर्वतथागत° स्म । तच्च भगवानाह । सर्वतथागतवाक्चित्तहृदयभवं मुद्राकरं गुह्यातिगुह्यकरं । अहो वज्रगर्भं साधु साधु महाकृपं शृणु । वज्रगर्भं उवाच । वज्रसत्त्वो भवेत्कस्मात् ।°

इति मञ्जुवज्रमण्डल fol. 5b; etc.

It ends: इति श्रीनिष्पन्नयोगाम्बली समाप्तः ॥ ° ॥ दानपते नेपालमन्दले शुवर्क्षपनारिमहानगरे शान्तिघतस्थाने मैत्रिपुरमहाविहारया श्री-वज्राचार्यः श्र्वार्थसिद्धिया जगदानन्दनिष्कसया श्री ३ योगाम्बरया-तावत्बलायनिमित्तिनः ध्वनिष्पन्नयोगाम्बरतन्त्रोक्तचोयाञ्जलशुभः ॥

74. *Dravyagūṇasaṅgraha.*

A treatise, in ślokas, on various subjects connected with cookery and eating. 30 palm leaves. 12 in. by 1 in. Six lines in a page. Dated *Samvat* 484 (A.D. 1364).

It begins : क्लेशाद्वैरपरामृष्टमष्टमूर्त्तिं जगत्पतिं ।

विभुमव्ययमीशानं प्रणम्य शशिभूषणं ॥

रसवीर्यविपाकाद्वैः सिद्धः सदैवपूजितः ।

भावस्वभाववादोऽयमार्थः संहियते मया ॥

(इति) द्रव्यगुणाध्यायः fol. 5; लवणवर्गः fol. 6; मधुरवर्गः fol. 7; दुग्धवर्गः fol. 7b; घृतवर्गः fol. 9; तैलवर्गः fol. 10; ° उदकवर्गः । धान्यवर्गः fol. 14; मांसमत्स्यवर्गः fol. 17b; शाकवर्गः fol. 21b; यवागूभक्तप्रकरणं fol. 23b; मांसरसवर्गः fol. 24b; यूषवर्गः fol. 25; इत्यरंक्षतान्नवर्गः fol. 26b; अनुपानवर्गः fol. 27; दन्तास्त्रविशुद्धिवर्गः fol. 28; व्यायामवर्गः fol. 28b; अभ्यङ्गावगाहनं fol. 29.

It ends : मिश्रवर्गः ॥ ° ॥ द्रव्यगुणसंग्रहः समाप्तः ॥

75. *Kāmasāstram.*

Vernacular. In thirteen *praticchhedas*. 19 leaves. 13½ in. by 2½ in. Six lines in a page. Last century.

It begins : नमो रत्नत्रयाय ॥ मुञ्जत्रमात्रमुमरपान°

It ends : इति कामसास्त्रपुत्रनिर्देशं चिदंशं परिच्छेदं ॥ समाप्तो यं नागरकनामसास्त्रं ॥° पुष्टको यं श्रीवज्रावहारे मञ्जुदेवेन मया कस्तेन लिखितं ॥

76. *Ashtamāvratamāhātmyam.*

Vernacular (Newārī). 60 leaves. 8½ in. by 3 in. Six lines in a page.

It begins : नत्वा श्रीमदमोघपाशप्रभृतिलोकेश्वरान्सत्तुरुन् चैलोक्य-प्रतिपालने चतुरान्भक्त्या मुदाचार्ययन् । श्रीमल्लोलितपट्टनस्थितं महा-बौद्धाख्यवैहारिको नाम्नासावमृतादिनन्दमतिमान् प्राकाशयद्वाषया ॥ अथाशोको महोपालः°

इति अष्टमीव्रतमाहात्म्य उपोषढदेडोपुत्रोत्पत्तिः fol. 30b.

It ends : इति श्रीउपगुप्ताशोकसंवादे अष्टमीव्रतमाहात्म्यसानुमत्तज-दोषनिर्णय नाच समाप्तं ॥

The following three MSS. were presented to the Society by
COLONEL JOHN S. HARRIOT.

77. *Mahāpratyangirā-mahāvīdyārājñī-Dhāraṇī.*

21 leaves of blackened paper. 8 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. Five lines in a page, written alternately in yellow and white paint, there being three of the former and two of the latter. Dated *Samvat* 944 (A.D. 1824).

It begins: एवम्मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् देवेषु त्रयचिंशेषु विहरति स्म ॥ सुधर्मायां देवसभायां महता (भि)भिक्षुसंघेन महता च बोधिसत्त्वसंघेन°

It ends: आर्यसङ्घतथागतोष्णीष । श्रेतातपत्रो नामापरजिता महाप्रत्यंगिरा (!) महाविद्याराज्ञी नाम धारणी समाप्तः ।° श्रीधनपतिराजैन लेखतां ॥

78. *Dhvajāgrakeyūrā-Dhāraṇī.*

3 leaves. Size, paper and handwriting as in the preceding MS.

It begins: ॐ नमः श्रीभगवत्यै आर्यध्वजाग्रकेयूरायै ॥ नमो मारवलप्रमथनाय ॥

एवम्मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन् समये भगवान् देवेषु त्रयचिंशेषु विहरति स्म । पाण्डुकम्वलशिलायां ।°

79. Collection of *Dhāraṇīs.*

21 leaves. Paper, size and handwriting as in preceding MSS. Generally three white and two yellow lines in a page. Cf. No. 59.

I. *Vasudhārā-Dhāraṇī.* It begins :

ॐ नमो भगवत्यै आर्यश्रीवसुधारायै ॥

दिव्यरूपी स्वरूपी च सौम्यरूपी वरप्रदा ।

वसुधारी वसुधारी च वसुश्रीश्रीकरिवराः ॥(!)

धरणी धारणी धाता ।°

इति श्रीवसुंधारा नामाष्टोत्तरशंखुद्धभाषितं समाप्तः । fol. 5.

II. *Vajravīdharāṇī-Dhāraṇī*. It begins :

एवं मया श्रुतं °स्स । सर्वशरीरं वज्रमय अधिष्ठाय° It ends fol. 9b.

III. *Gaṇapatihṛidaya-Dhāraṇī*.

It begins: एवमया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् राजगृहे विहरति स्स । गृह्णते (!) पर्वते महता भिक्षुः संघेन (!) सार्द्धं°

It ends: आर्यगणपतिहृदया नाम धारणी समाप्तः ॥ fol. 12.

IV. *Uṣṇīṣhaviṣṭayā-Dhāraṇī*.

It begins: ॐ नमो भगवत्यै आर्योष्णीषवीजयायै ॥ ॐ नमो बुद्धाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवत्यै सर्वत्रैलोक्यप्रतिविशिष्टाय बुद्धाय नमः ॥ तदथा ॥ ॐ°

It ends fol. 14.

V. *Prajñāpāramitāhṛidayam* :

It begins: ॐ नमो भगवते आर्यश्रीप्रज्ञापारमितायै ॥ एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् राजगृहे विहरति स्स ॥ गृह्णते पर्वते महता भिक्षुसंघेन सार्द्धं महता च बोधिसत्वसंघेन°

It ends fol. 16b: आर्यश्रीप्रज्ञापारमिताहृदय समाप्तः ॥

VI. *Mārīchī-Dhāraṇī* :

It begins: ॐ नमो भगवत्यै आर्यश्रीमारीचिदेवतायै ॥ एवमया श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान् गोवत्यां (आवस्यां?) विहरति स्स । येतवणे ऽनाथपिण्डदस्सारामे महता भिक्षुसंघेन सार्द्धमर्द्धत्रयोदशभिर्भिक्षु-
शतैः°

It ends fol. 18b: आर्यश्रीमारीची नाम धारणी परिसमाप्ताः ॥

VII. *Grahaṃātrikā-Dhāraṇī*.

A ticket pasted on the back of the last leaf contains the following note :

“Col. John S. Harriot.

D'arani, or Bod' Marag—History of the 5 Bod"—named Shakmuni, Mogsid, Rattan Simb'u—Achabba; D'arani;—written in Sanskrit character—and in use with the B'arah tribe—or aborigines of Nepal—Dec. 1826.”

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

The accompanying plates contain photographic specimens of the four oldest dated manuscripts in the collection described in the preceding pages, viz. :

1. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* (MS. 2). In this MS., as well as in the one from which the next specimen is taken (No. 1), each page is broken up into three columns separated from each other by two blank stripes, through which holes have been punched for a cord to pass through. The specimen here produced is the left-hand column of the reverse of leaf 113. On the blank stripe below the hole *facsimiles* have been added of the letter-numerals in which the date is expressed in the colophon; viz. 200 + 80 + 6.

2. The *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (MS. 1). The left-hand division of the reverse of fol. 188. The letter which has been added below the hole is a *facsimile* from the colophon of the number (4) of the year of king *Govindapāla's* reign.

3. The last page of the *Ādikarmapradīpa* (MS. 69), containing the colophon with the date expressed by letters in the third line. The first figure is doubtful, the signs for the hundreds from 300 not being obtainable from these manuscripts. It can scarcely stand for 200, though it has some similarity in shape with that numeral. The second letter is evidently 10, while the third, of which the upper portion only remains, must have been either 8 or 6, probably the former.

4. The reverse of fol. 14 of the *Dravyagūṇasāṅgraha* (MS. 74). A *facsimile* of the date (S. 484) has been added above the hole.

5. It has been considered useful in these two columns to bring together, by means of tracings, *facsimiles* of all the characteristic numerals, both in letters and figures, found in the Hodgson Manuscripts. The order in which the characters are arranged, has been adapted, as far as practicable, to the dates of the MSS., those from the (presumably) oldest MS. (No. 2) being placed next to the European figure.

It should be stated, however, with regard to the letter-numerals of the numbers 1-3, that the general practice is to express them by the syllabic abbreviations ए, द्वि and त्रि (or तृ), whilst several of the MSS., including No. 2, use the common Sanskrit figures given on the plate.

To the letter-numerals of the tenths many MSS., especially the more modern ones, add incorrectly the cipher similarly to the last sign for 40-200 given on the plate.

It is curious to notice how the letter-numeral for 10 appears to have been produced from that for 9, the one for 70 from that for 60, and the one for 90 from that for 80.

J. E.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 3, line 26, read श्रुतमेकस्त्रिंशत्तमये instead of °न्वमये.

„	4, „	14, „	सुगतात्मजाः	„	सुसतात्मजाः.
„	7, „	12, „	धर्मपर्याय	„	धर्मप्रख्याय.
„	8, „	4, „	चतुर्दशमः	„	चतुर्दशमः.
„	29, „	8, separate	°भगेषु विजहार.		

ART. II.—*On the Ruins of Sigiri in Ceylon.* By T. H. BLAKESLEY, Esq., Public Works Department, Ceylon.

[Read on April 19, 1875.]

THE fortified rock of Sigiri is situated in the centre of Ceylon, in the Central Province, at its northern extremity, close to the boundaries of the Eastern and the now North Central Province. This part of the island has long been in a very poor condition for want of water, and is but scantily inhabited; the cultivation of paddy has been abandoned for some years as hopeless, and the jungle on the site of the city which once surrounded the base of the magnificent rock is very dense and uninviting. The rock, too, lies some distance from the high road to Trincomalee, and can be approached only by a jungle path, so that the few visitors who pass through the village are as a rule glad to hurry on to the more attractive ruins of Pollanarrûa, or to the Elephant forests which lie to the east.

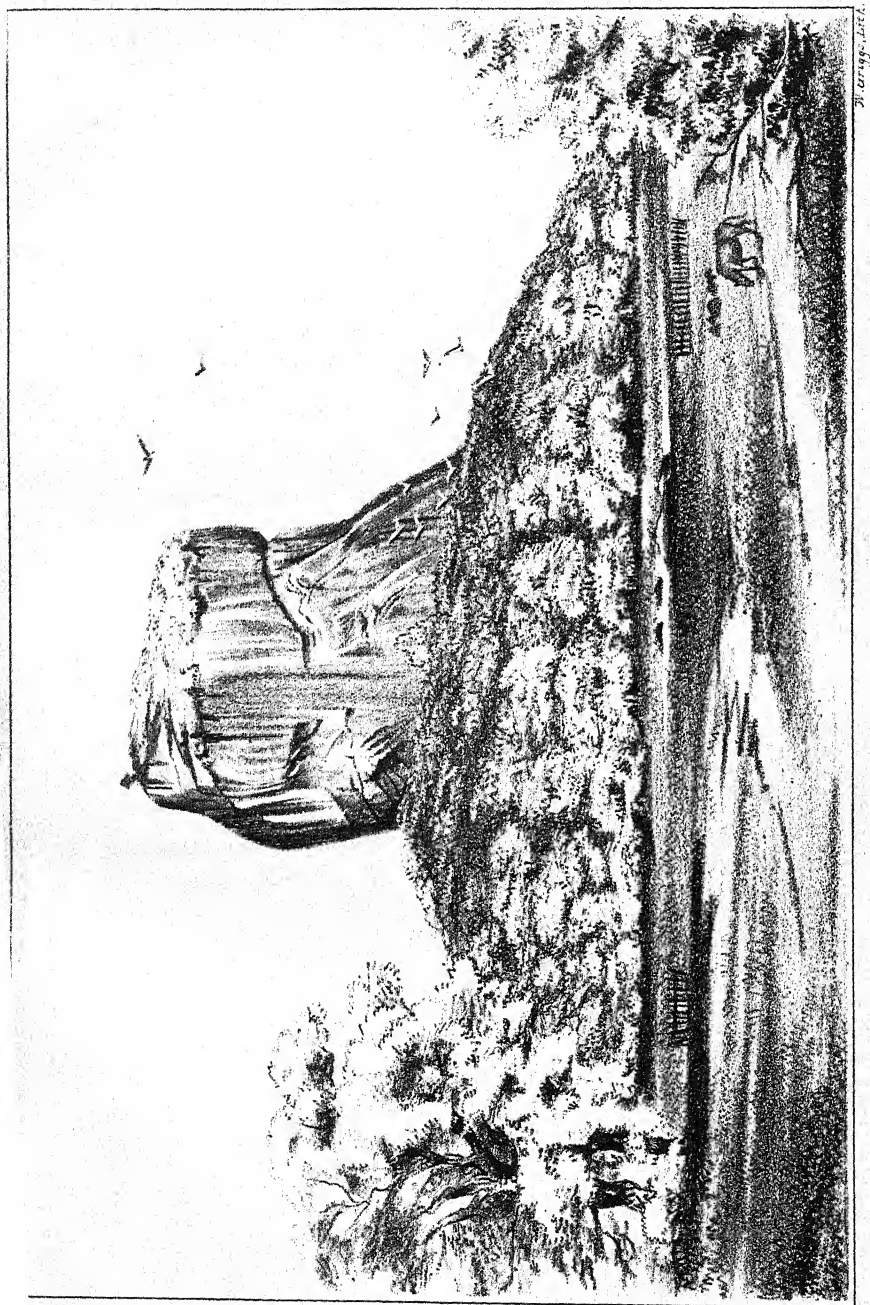
The rock for which this place is now chiefly noted is a huge oval mass of gneiss, rising to a height of more than 500 feet above the plain in which it stands. For about half its height it is masked by a pile of debris covered with forest; and the upper portion is, without the help of ladders, entirely inaccessible, from its overhanging its base nearly the whole way round.

Around the western face of the rock runs a gallery, at the level where the rock has the smallest diameter, so that while it stands upon that portion which projects below, it is at the same time protected by the part which overhangs it. The outer side of this gallery is formed by a brick wall tapering to the top, at which there is a well-preserved moulding. Ledges have been formed in the rock to receive the wall, and at a certain height transverse blocks of marble are laid across

from the wall to the rock, so as to form a floor, which shows signs of having once exhibited a brilliant polish. The wall, too, has a covering of plaster, which still retains a high polish. The gallery is by no means entire throughout its whole length, but it once connected two strongholds situated on ledges to the north and south of the rock. These may have been artificially raised, and, at all events, they have been adapted and strengthened with walls of stone. From the gallery upwards, it seems probable that the face of the rock was once covered with paintings on plaster, though this has in most part been swept away where it was exposed to the action of the weather.

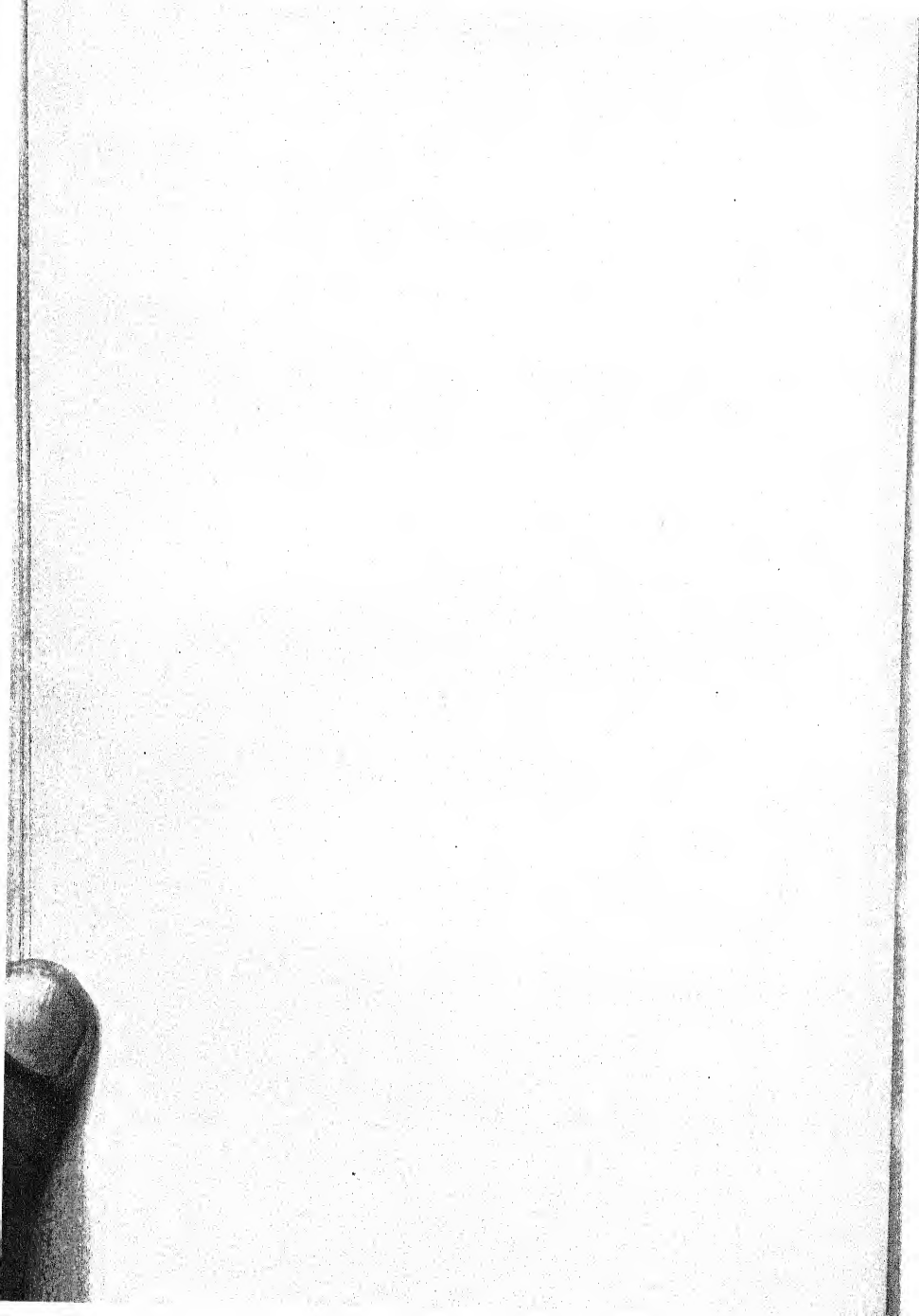
Some portions of the rock face which presented softer material than others have been scooped into caves, and in these the frescoes still remain, though they are now inaccessible, and can be looked at only from a distance with the help of a glass. The colour of these still existing paintings is very fresh, and the style of art is far higher than that of the ordinary temple-painting in Ceylon. The subjects do not seem much varied. Groups of two women, or one alone, are repeated again and again. The upper portions only of the figures are given, and these are richly ornamented with jewels and drapery. The excellence of the drawing of the limbs leads one to speculate on the races of people to whom the faces belong. Some of the latter are lighter than others, and appear to be of the Mongolian type. It is well known that much intercourse existed in former times between the Chinese and the Sinhalese. The Buddhist symbol of the lotus-flower plays a great part in these paintings. The stucco on which they are painted has a backing of paddy-husks visible at the present time. Perhaps it was found useful in causing the plaster to adhere to the rock surface.

Captain Woodward, R.E., who is acquainted with Sîgiri, considers it the most perfect specimen of Kandyan defence at present known. At the north-western point of the rock the gallery takes the form of a flight of stone steps, on account of the platform at the northern side (on which a



SKETCH OF THE GREAT ROCK OF SIGIRI.

H. Briggs, 1886.



palace is said to have stood) being at a higher level than the gallery at the western side. These stairs are supported by a mass of brickwork standing on the talus, and not, as in the case of the gallery on the west, on the rock itself, which at this part is more perpendicular. At a point just at the bottom of the steps Captain Woodward thinks the gallery was supported on beams, either of wood or of stone, morticed into the rock, for which the holes are still to be seen; but I think it doubtful whether these holes with their beams may not have been used to support a roof to the gallery which certainly existed over the stairs, and is wanted in this part from the same cause which necessitated the steps being supported by the solid brickwork, viz. the non-reentrant character of the rock surface.

On the sloping ground to the west of the site of the palace is a large piece of rock weighing 850 tons, supported partly by one end of itself, and partly by slender stone columns about two feet high; for the ends of these columns notches are cut both in the rock below and in the superincumbent mass. I have been unable to meet with a satisfactory suggestion as to the use of this structure.

To the west of the large rock is a great fragment which has probably fallen from above, and split into two pieces. On one of these, which has the face which adjoined the other portion fairly horizontal, is carved the great throne, and on the other the bath, which two objects, with the gallery, form the complete list of curiosities to be generally seen at Sîgiri.

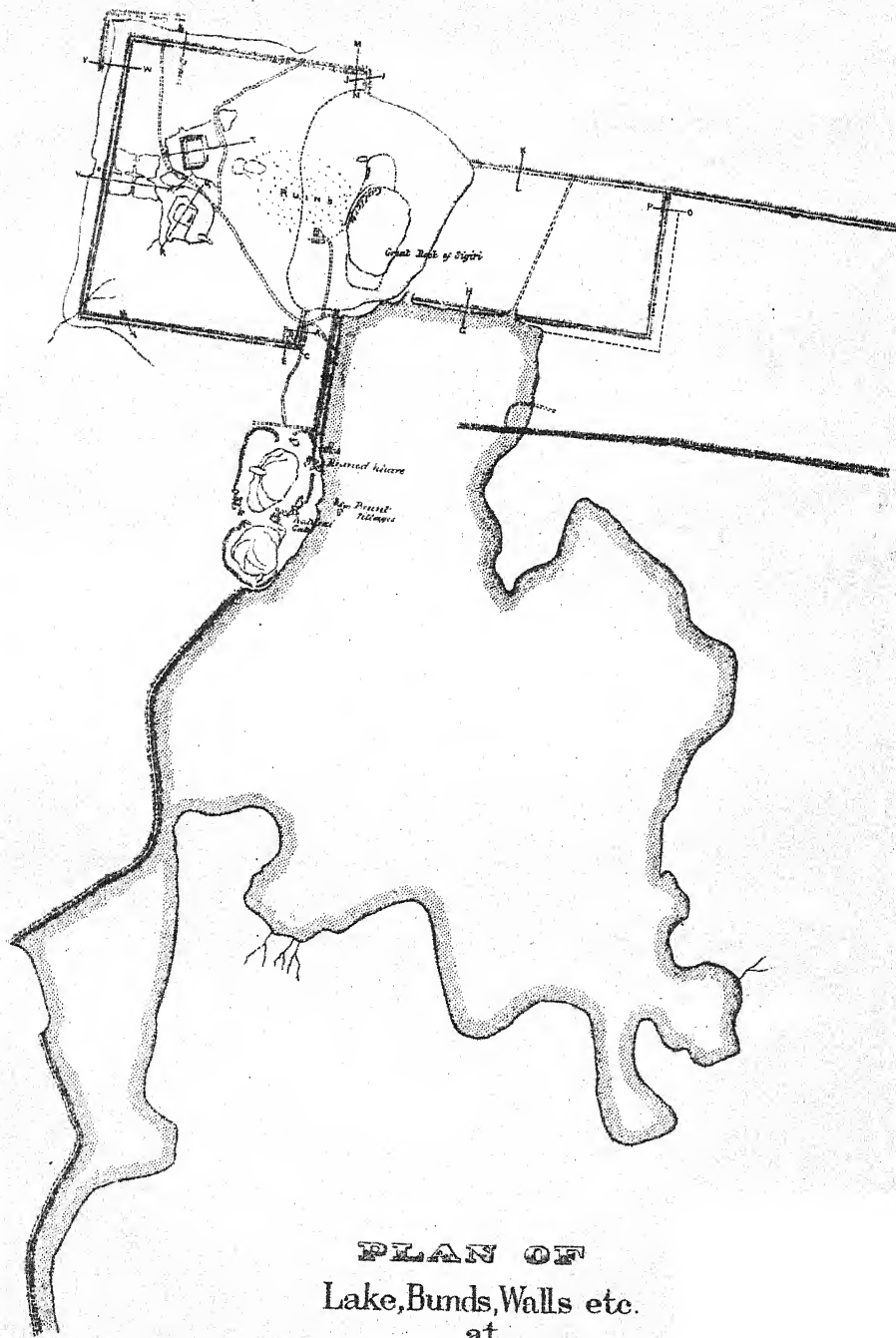
At Sîgiri, as at many other places in this part of the island, there are the remains of an artificial lake. The embankment which formed it started from the base of the large rock, and ran southward, for four hundred yards, until it abutted against the rock of Mâpa-gala. Southwards of this again it extended, with one interval at a small portion of high ground, as shown in the plan, to a distance beyond the furthest point shown in the plan of more than two miles and a half. It may have extended even beyond this distance, but it was found at this point to be so degraded as scarcely

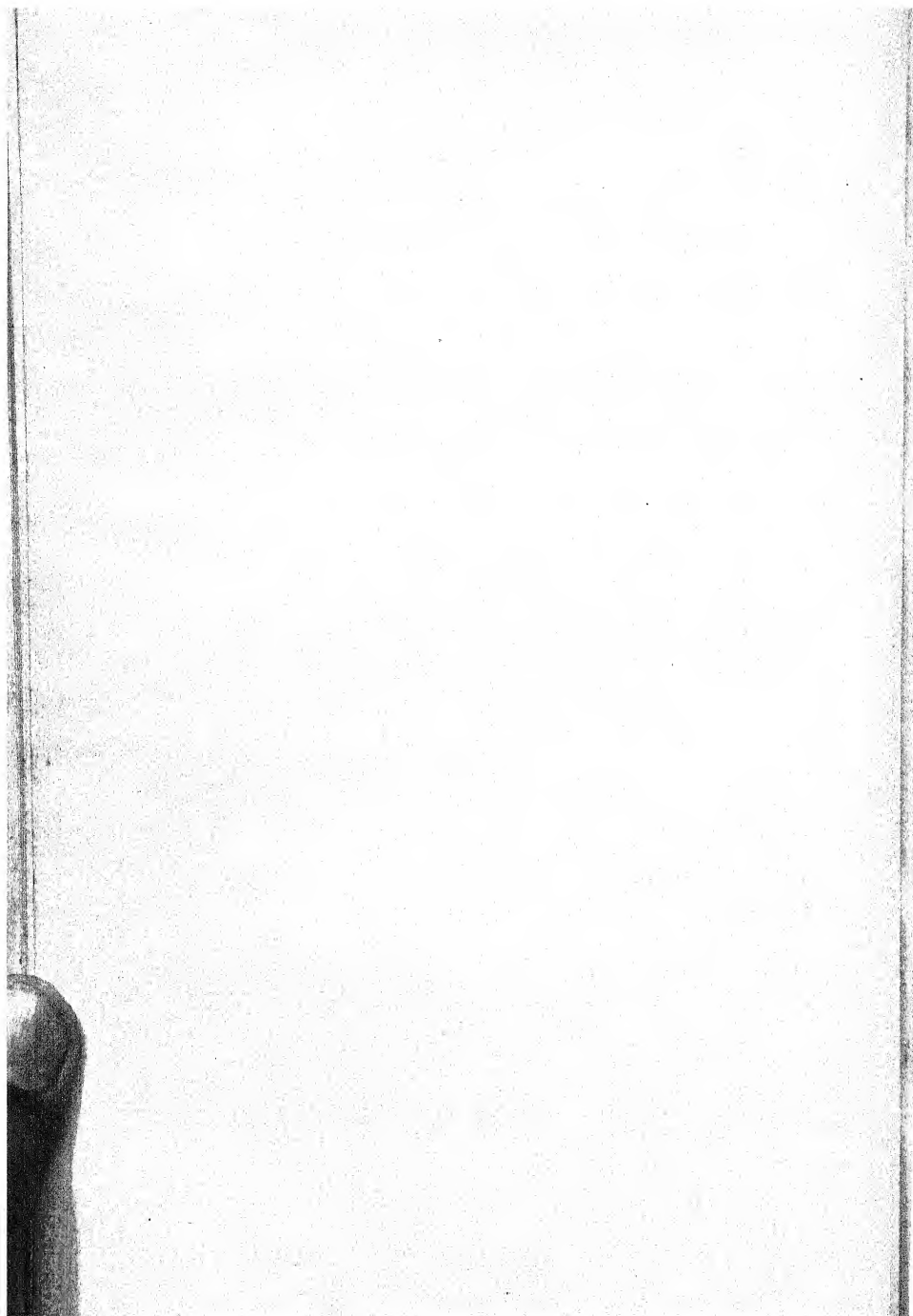
to be traceable. Most of this embankment defined a channel by which water was diverted into the lake, which, as a large expanse of water, parts company with the embankment about half a mile south of Mâpa-gala. Indeed it appears probable that the original lake or tank stopped at this point, and that the channel was added afterwards, on account of the very small area which naturally drains into the more northern lake.

The water-line shown in the drawing is according to a scheme lately under the consideration of the Ceylon Government for the restoration of the tank; the old lake, when full, was probably somewhat larger in area, and stood at a higher level than has lately been proposed.

To the east and west of the rock are rectangular areas enclosed within fortified embankments of earthwork, which, together with the rock itself, make up a space of nearly 300 acres, forming a "kraton," and constituting the site of the ancient city. They were defended by moats, revetted with stone, perhaps on every side, though on the north side of the easternmost portion there are no other signs left of them than a slight depression of the ground. The whole area dips gradually downwards from east to west, while the north and south lines correspond fairly with the contour lines of the country; so that moats running in this direction (N. & S.) were probably entire throughout their whole extent, while those running east and west would have to be made in sections, with divisions corresponding to the locks of a river. There are indeed signs of such an arrangement on the north side of the city.

As in the case of the southern extremity of the lake the natives showed themselves capable of constructing a long embankment to divert water into a direction which it would not naturally have taken, so at the east side of the city they adopted the same contrivance for supplying the moats, the continuation of the north boundary of the eastern area being intended for this purpose. South of this there will be seen on the plan a detached embankment. This no doubt was once continued either to Sîgiri Rock or to Mâpa-gala, and either formed a moat on the south side of the rock before





the great tank was completely carried out, or was used to hold up a supply of water in the moats on the east and south sides, when the water from the rest of the lake might be drawn off for agricultural purposes.

Inside the western area of the town are the remains of two mounds surrounded by moats, and scarped with large stones. These may have been religious erections, and it was certainly not extraordinary to have water in the front at least of the Ceylon Dāgobas. But it seems more consistent with the existence of the strong stone walls with which they were strengthened, and with the history of the place, to consider them as military strongholds. There will be noticed also in this portion a large reservoir of water, once crossed by causeways in two directions. One of these causeways running east and west seems to have formed a portion of a high road running from the royal residence to the city gate and bridge in the western wall, the remains of the stone piles of the bridge being still visible in the moat. The remains of an abutment exist also in the southern wall. In most of these remains there is a vast deal of rough stonework, many of the large earthwork walls being faced with stone, especially below the water-line of the moats. A drain composed of flat stones, kept from contact by the interposition of others, was discovered under the northern wall, and a curious piece of capping bund necessary for the preservation of water in the west moat on account of the contour of the ground will be observed at the north-west corner.

At many places in the western area are to be found brickwork foundations and loose bricks. These are not common on the east of the rock.

The rock Māpa-gala (Mahâ-pāya-gala = great precipice rock) forms an outlying fortress; it consists of two huge masses of rock surrounded by a wall of Cyclopian construction, containing about 16 acres of ground, and was perhaps on one side protected by the lake as well.

A Dāgoba is situated about a mile from Sīgiri towards the west; it is in a very thick forest, and has water on one side of it. It is scarcely to be distinguished from a natural mound,

except by the fact that there are no natural mounds in the neighbourhood which are not of solid rock.

The notices of Sigiri in the chronicles of Ceylon are very few and meagre. I have been able to hear of them in only three chronicles, viz. the Mahâwansa, the Râjaratnâkara, and the Râja-valiya. Sir Emerson Tennent's work on Ceylon contains all that can be derived from the first, and for my information from the last two sources I am indebted to Mr. John Dickson, of the Ceylon Civil Service.

The earliest of these notices refers to King Mahalauti, who was the son of King Kudatipa. The latter was poisoned by his wife the "infamous Anula," who seized the power, and appears to have used it in such a way as to render it most expedient for the young Prince Mahalauti to enter the priesthood in disguise, as he seems to have done. On coming of age, B.C. 41, he threw off the sacerdotal robe, and contrived to gain the kingdom, after which he built the Mahâpâya at Sîgiri, and also a Mahâwihâra entirely of stone, and a uposatha Mâlakaya at the same place. He reigned 22 years.

His son Bâtiya (B.C. 19) established at Sîgiri an alms-house for thousands of the priesthood.

His son Mahâ-Daliya (A.D. 9) induced the inhabitants of Lankâ (Ceylon) to grow flowers, and caused the Sîgiri-wihâra and the Ruwanweli Dâgoba to be buried in flowers. Of this king it is stated in another chronicle that he built the Ambuwa Dâgoba at Sîgiri, and worshipped (at) the Kolongâdi (?) Sîgiriya Dâgoba.

From this time until that of Kasyapa the parricide, history is silent on the subject of Sîgiriya. The story of this king's crimes and reign are given in some detail in Sir E. Tennent's work. Briefly, in A.D. 477 he captured his father, the King Dhâtusena, and built him into a wall, so that this monarch "united himself with Sakya, the ruler of Devos." King Kasyapa made Sîgiri the capital of his kingdom, and surrounded it with a wall. He built three residences there, accessible by steps, and ornamented some parts of the rock with paintings of lions, from which the name Sîgiri has

been said to be derived. He reigned eighteen years, and endeavoured to "derive merit" by the performance of numerous acts of charity, which he hoped would compensate for his crime; to no purpose, however, were his vows and his virtues, though "non-procrastination" was among the most eminent of the latter; for, conquered and put to death by his brother, he was hurled into the Avichya Hell, there to remain for eight kalpas.

From the 7th to the 11th century the north of Ceylon was overrun by Malabars, and the city of Pollanarrûa, which began, from this cause probably, to be important under Siri Sangabo II., A.D. 648, became the capital under Kudâ-Akbo, A.D. 769. Doubtless the fortress of Sigiri, from its position, played an important part in these wars.

The brave King Parâkrama Bâhu, sole King of Lankâ in 1155, restored many cities, including Sîgiri and Anurâdhapura; but he seems to have been especially ambitious of "deriving merit" by means of his works of irrigation, if it be true that 1470 tanks for this purpose were constructed by him, and 2355 repaired, besides 534 water-courses constructed, and 3621 repaired. He would appear to have practised "non-procrastination" through a long reign of 33 years.

Such is the history of this place.

If the authorities quoted above may be relied upon, there is no difficulty in identifying the (wall round) Mâpa-gala with the Mahâpâya built by Mahâlauti (B.C. 41—19). The proximity of the rock of Sigiri, which certainly is by nature a stronger fortress than the Mâpa-gala, leads one to suppose that it also must have been used as a fortress at the time, though perhaps it was thought to need no artificial improvement. The stones used in the Mâpa-gala wall are far larger than those of the walls beneath the great rock of Sîgiri, though more rudely put together. The existence of this wall on the east side of Mâpa-gala is a reason for supposing that no lake extended so far north as that in Mahalauti's time, so that this wall may be considered the oldest work about the place. There is nothing to identify the Dâgoba mentioned as existing about a mile to the east of

Sigiri with either the Ambuwa or the Kolongâdi Dâgoba mentioned above in connexion with King Mahâ Daliya (A.D. 9). It may be one of these two.

All the work around the great rock of Sigiri must be attributed to Kasyapa the parricide (A.D. 477), or to Parâkrama Bâhu, the restorer of the city (A.D. 1155). Sîgiri was Kasyapa's capital and refuge, and we know he put a rampart round it, and ornamented his palace with paintings, though those on the rock now are not of lions. Moreover, there are no remains of the religious buildings of earlier kings, recognizable as such, at Sîgiri. This name may have included the large and almost inaccessible rock of Piduragala, lying about three-quarters of a mile to the north of Sîgiri rock. Though Piduragala would form a very fine fortress, it is artificially defended in no way whatever, but, on the other hand, bears traces of having been long a religious spot. There exists a wihâra in use now at the fort, and there are the remains of more than one old temple on various parts of it. On the east side especially, and near the top, is a large recumbent figure of Buddha, forty feet long, made of bricks.

As Kasyapa built the city walls of Sigiri, so he must in part have constructed the lake in order to supply his moats. The long catchwater embankment, however, I attribute to Parâkrama Bâhu. In the first place, as it was used for directing running water rather than for holding up still water, it would be comparatively useless for military purposes after the lake was once full, for the natural drainage into the lake would suffice for all purposes other than agricultural, and it cannot be supposed that Kasyapa, whose chief business was to support a tottering throne, would pay much attention to the requirements of cultivators. Secondly, both the long outlying embankment and the peculiar bend in the main bund half a mile south of Mâpa-gala, suggest that the lake did not originally possess the shape it acquired in later years. Thirdly, the direction in which the long catchwater embankment runs seems to indicate an ambitious attempt to connect the lake with what was known as the

“Sea of Parākrama,” which lay in an easterly direction, and was a large piece of water formed by the union of three large lakes by means of channels of this sort. Fourthly, the embankment seems necessary for agricultural purposes, and Parākrama’s reign was eminently characterized by the pursuits and acts of peace.

NOTE A.

With regard to the Chinese character of the paintings on the rock, it is curious to notice, in the connexion between China and Ceylon in the fifth century, that of Kasyapa, during which there were no less than five embassies from Ceylon to China, that in the year 456 A.D. there went on the last of them five priests, one of whom was Nantê, the celebrated sculptor. It is possible that this Sinhalese Phidias may have caught an inspiration in the celestial land, and profited by it on his return. Even if the present paintings be of the time of Parākrama Bâhu, we ought not to be surprised at finding traces of the expert Chinese in their execution; for we know that swords and musical instruments at least were imported from China into Ceylon, and that Chinese soldiers took service under the Ceylon monarchs within eighty years of the death of Parākrama Bâhu.

NOTE B.

Though “non-procrastination” is inculcated by Buddhist priests of the present day, and was also in bygone times, as a virtue, Kasyapa’s non-procrastination must be looked upon in the light rather of a necessity. It was an inability, rather than an unwillingness to postpone, which caused him to construct the great works which were to screen him from death and Mogallâna.

ART. III.—*The Pâtimokkha, being the Buddhist Office of the Confession of Priests. The Pali Text, with a Translation, and Notes.* By J. F. DICKSON, M.A., sometime Student of Christ Church, Oxford, now of the Ceylon Civil Service.

ON the 2nd of January, 1874, being the full-moon day of the month Phussa, I was permitted, by the kindness of my friend Kæwitiyâgala Unnânsê, to be present at a chapter of priests assembled for the recitation of the Pâtimokkha or office of the confession of priests. The chapter was held in the Sîmâ or consecrated space in the ancient Lohapâsâda, or Brazen Palace, in the city of Anurâdhapura, and under the shadow of the sacred Bo-tree, grown from a branch of the tree at Buddha Gayâ, under which, as tradition relates, the prince Siddhârtha attained to supreme Buddhahood. The branch was sent to Devânampiyatissa, King of Ceylon, by the Emperor Açoka, in the year 288 B.C., now upwards of two thousand years ago. It was in this remarkable spot, under the shadow of the oldest historical tree, and in probably the oldest chapter-house in the world, that it was my good fortune to be present at this service. The building has none of its original magnificence. The colossal stone pillars alone remain as a memorial of the devotion of the kings and people of Ceylon to the religion which was taught them by Mahendra, the great apostle of Buddhism. In place of the nine storeys which these pillars once supported, a few in the centre are now made to carry a poor thatched roof no larger than that of a cotter's hut, and hardly sufficient to protect the chapter from the inclemencies of the weather. Still there was a simple and imposing grandeur in the scene. At the back of some dozen or more of these gigantic pillars were stretched pieces of white calico, to form the sides of the room: the ceiling in like manner was formed by stretching

white calico above the pillars to conceal the shabby roof, the bare ground was covered with clean mats, two lamps gave a dim light, the huge columns, grey with age, stood out against the white calico. At the top of the long room thus formed was hung a curtain of bright colours, and through a space left for the entrance were visible, row after row, the pillars of the ancient palace, their broad shadows contrasting with the silvery brightness of the tropical moon.

Accompanied by a friend, I went to the chapter-house about seven o'clock in the evening; we were met at the door by the priests, who showed us to the places prepared for us—two cushions on the floor at the bottom of the room, at a distance of about two fathoms from the place reserved for the priests. The ordinances of Buddha require that all persons who are not ordained priests, free at the time from all liability to ecclesiastical censure, shall keep at a distance of two and a half cubits from the assembled chapter. It was on my pointing out that this was the only direction of Buddha on the subject, that the priests consented to make an exception in my favour, and to break their rule of meeting in secret conclave.

After we were seated the priests retired two and two together, each pair knelt down face to face and made confession of their faults, one to another, in whispers. Their confessions being ended, they took their seats on mats covered with white calico, in two rows facing each other. The senior priest, the seniority being reckoned from the date of ordination, sat at the head of one row, the next in order at the head of the opposite row, the third next to the senior priest, and so on right and left down the room. The senior priest remained sitting, the others knelt and made obeisance to him, saying—

Okâsa. Dvârottayena katañ sabbam aparâdham khamatha me bhante.

Permit me. Lord, give me absolution from all my faults committed in deed, or word, or thought.

The senior then says—

Khamâmi âvuso. Khamitabbañ.

I absolve you, brother. It is good to grant me absolution.

All reply—

Okâsa. Khamâmi bhante.

Permit me. Lord, I absolve you.

The second in order of seniority now resumes his seat, and all his juniors kneel and receive and give absolution, saying, Okâsa, etc., as above; he then takes his seat, and the others kneel to him, and so on, till no one has a junior present, that is to say, if there are thirty priests present, the senior will receive obeisance from the twenty-nine others together, the second from the twenty-eight, and so on down to the twenty-ninth, who will receive obeisance from one. After all are seated, they fall together on their knees and say—

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammâsambuddhassa.

Praise be to the blessed one, the holy one, the author of all truth. (This is said three times.)

Iti pi so bhagavâ araham sammâsambuddho vijjâcaranasampanno sugato lokavidû anuttaro purisadammasârathi satthâ devamanussânâñ Buddhho bhagavâ ti. Buddhâñ jîvitâñ yâva nibbânâñ saraṇâñ gacchâmi.

Ye ca Buddhâ atitâ ca
Ye ca Buddhâ anâgatâ
Paccuppannâ ca ye Buddhâ
Ahañ vandâmi sabbadâ.

N'atthi me saraṇâñ aññâñ
Buddho me saraṇâñ varaṇ
Etena saccavajjena
Hotu me jayamaṅgalâñ.

Uttamaṅgena vande 'hañ
Pâdapaṃsuvaruttamañ
Buddhe yo khalito doso,
Buddho khamatu tañ mamañ.

Svâkkhâto Bhagavatâ dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akâliko ehipassiko
opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññûhîti. Dhammaṃ jîvitaṃ yâva
nibbânaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchâmi.

Ye ca dhammâ atitâ ca
Ye ca dhammâ anâgatâ
Paccuppannâ ca ye dhammâ
Ahaṃ vandâmi sabbadâ.

N'atthi me saraṇaṃ aññaṃ
Dhammo me saraṇaṃ varaṃ
Etena saccavajjena
Hotu me jayamaṅgalaṃ.

Uttamaṅgena vande 'haṃ
Dhammaṃ ca tividhaṃ varaṃ
Dhamme yo khalito doso
Dhammo khamatu taṃ mamaṃ

Supaṭipanno Bhagavato sâvakasaṅgho ujupaṭipanno Bhagavato sâ-
vakasaṅgho nâyapaṭipanno Bhagavato sâvakasaṅgho sâmicipaṭipanno
Bhagavato sâvakasaṅgho yadidaṃ cattâri purisayugâni aṭṭha purisa-
puggalâ esa Bhagavato sâvakasaṅgho âhuṇeyyo pâhuṇeyyo dakkhi-
ṇeyyo añjalikaraṇiyo anuttaraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassâti. Saṅghaṃ
jîvitaṃ yâva nibbânaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchâmi.

Ye ca saṅghâ atitâ ca
Ye ca saṅghâ anâgatâ
Paccuppannâ ca ye saṅghâ
Ahaṃ vandâmi sabbadâ.

N'atthi me saraṇaṃ aññaṃ
Saṅgho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ
Etena saccavajjena
Hotu me jayamaṅgalaṃ

Uttamaṅgena vande 'haṃ
Saṅghaṃ ca tividhottamaṃ
Saṅghe yo khalito doso
Saṅgho khamatu taṃ mamaṃ

Buddhadhammā ca pacceka-
 Buddhasaṅghā ca sāmiko
 Dāso 'vāh' asmiṃ etesaṃ
 Guṇaṃ t̥hātu sire sadā

Tisaraṇaṃ tilakkhaṇupekkhaṃ
 Nibbānaṃ antimaṃ
 Suvande sirasā niccaṃ
 Labhāmi tividhaṃ ahaṃ

Tisaraṇaṃ sire t̥hātu
 Sire t̥hātu tilakkhaṇaṃ
 Upekkhā ca sire t̥hātu
 Nibbānaṃ t̥hātu me sire

Buddhe sakaruṇe vande
 Dhamme paccekasambuddhe
 Saṅghe ca sirasā yeva
 Timunica namāmi 'haṃ

Namāmi Satthuno vāda-
 Ppamādavacanantimaṃ
 Sabbe pi cetiye vande
 Upajjhācariye mamaṃ
 Mayhaṃ paṇāmatejēna
 Cittaṃ pāpehi muñcatāmi.

(TRANSLATION.)

We believe in the Blessed one, the holy one, the author of all truth, who has fully accomplished the eight kinds of supernatural knowledge and the fifteen holy practices, who came the good journey which led to the Buddhahood, who knows the Universe, the unrivalled, who has made subject to him all mortal beings, whether in heaven or in earth, the Teacher of Gods and men, the blessed Buddha. Through life till I reach Nirvāna I will put my trust in Buddha.

*I worship continually
 The Buddhas of the ages that are past,
 And the Buddhas of the ages that are yet to come,
 And the Buddhas of this present age.*

*I have no other Refuge,
Buddha is the best Refuge ;
By the truth of these words
May I conquer and win the victory.*

*I bow my head to the ground, and worship
The sacred dust of his holy feet.
If in aught I have sinned against Buddha,
May Buddha forgive me my sin.*

The Law was graciously preached by Buddha, its effects are immediate, it is unlimited by time, it is conducive to salvation, it invites all comers, it is a fitting object of contemplation, the wise ponder it in their hearts. Through life till I reach Nirvâṇa I will put my trust in the Law.

*The Law as it has been in the ages that are past,
The Law that will be in the ages that are yet to come,
The Law as it is in this present age,
I worship continually.*

*I have no other Refuge,
The Law is my best Refuge ;
By the truth of these words
May I conquer and win the victory.*

*I bow my head to the ground and worship
The Law, the noble doctrine of the Three Baskets.
If in aught I have sinned against the Law,
May the Law forgive me my sin.*

Buddha's holy Church, the congregation of righteous men that lead a godly life, that walk in the straight way, in the way of wisdom, that walk faithfully in the four paths of holiness, the eight orders of the elect, worthy of offerings from afar, worthy of fresh offerings, worthy of offerings of the daily necessities of life, entitled to receive the respectful salutation of joined hands raised in homage to the forehead, this

holy Church produces merit which, like unto a rich field, yields its increase for the benefit of this world of men. Through life till I reach Nirvâna I will put my trust in the Church.

*The Church as it has been in the ages that are past,
The Church as it will be in the ages that are yet to come,
The Church as it is in this present age,
I worship continually.*

*I have no other Refuge,
The Church is my noble Refuge.
By the truth of these words
May I worship and win the victory.*

*I bow my head to the ground and worship
The Church, threefold and best.
If in aught I have sinned against the Church,
May the Church forgive me my sin.*

*Buddha and the Law, the Pacceka-buddhas,
And the Church are my lords.
I am their slave.
May their virtues ever rest on my head.*

*The three refuges, the three symbols and equanimity,
And lastly, Nirvâna,
Will I worship with bowed head, unceasingly.
Thus shall I receive the benefit of that threefold power.*

*May the three refuges rest on my head,
On my head may there rest the three symbols.
May peace rest on my head,
May Nirvâna rest on my head.*

*I worship the Buddhas, the all-pityful,
The Law, the Pacceka-buddhas;
The Church and the three sages
I worship with bowed head.*

*I worship every saying
 And every word of the Great Teacher.
 I worship every shrine,
 My spiritual superior and my tutor.
 By virtue of these feelings of reverence
 May my thoughts be freed from sin.¹*

The priests here rise from their knees and resume their seats. The senior, or some other deputed in his stead to officiate, then takes a seat at the top between the two rows. The interrogatories are then proceeded with as will be found explained in the following translation of the Pâtimokkha. The interrogatories being ended, the Pâtimokkha is intoned after the manner followed to this day by the Roman Church.

The general character of the laws of the priesthood was first made known to European scholars in the work of Mons. de la Loubère, Du Royaume de Siam, published at Paris in 1691, an extract from which was translated and published at Zurich in 1791 under the title, "Erklärung des Patimuk oder des Textes des Winak, aus der Bali-Sprache." A valuable translation of the Pâtimokkha was published in 1839 by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, in the *Ceylon Friend*, vol. iii., and that translation was republished in 1862, together with a translation from the Chinese by the Rev. S. Beal (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Second Series, Vol. XIX.*). The text was published in the Devanâgarî character with a translation into Russian by Professor J. Minayeff, of St. Petersburg, in 1869. That edition gives the office for priestesses, which has some points of interest; but it has been omitted in

¹ I offer a translation of these stanzas with much hesitation. The three passages beginning "Iti pi so," "Svâkkhâto," and "Supaṭipanno" are from the Tripitaka. The others, though very ancient, bear the same relation to the Pâli of the Buddhist scriptures that the Latin hymns of the middle ages bear to the writings of Virgil. For this reason they have a special interest, but they are very difficult to interpret, and as there is no commentary to them the priests themselves have doubts as to the meaning of some of the words. I have not on this account thought it desirable to omit them, as I believe they will be new to the learned in Europe, and of interest to those who desire to ascertain the real feeling of the professors of the Buddhist religion.

the present edition, because the order of priestesses is not now recognized by the orthodox Buddhists.

The text of this edition is derived from MSS. in use at the Malwattê Monastery in Kandy, and it will be found divided into ten chapters, as follows:—

I. *Pucchāvissajjanam*.—Interrogatories relating to the requisites for forming a chapter.

II. *Nidānam*.—The Introduction.

III. *Pārājikā*.—The four deadly sins.

IV. *Saṅghādisesā*.—The thirteen faults involving temporary separation from the priesthood.

V. *Aniyatā dhammā*.—The two undetermined offences.

VI. *Nissaggiyā pācittiyā dhammā*.—The thirty faults requiring confession and absolution, and involving forfeiture of the article in reference to which the offence has been committed.

VII.—*Pācittiyā dhammā*.—The ninety-two faults requiring confession and absolution.

VIII. *Pāṭidesaniyā dhammā*.—Four offences requiring confession.

IX. *Sekhhiyā dhammā*.—The seventy-five rules of conduct.

X. *Adhikaraṇasamathā dhammā*.—The seven rules for settling cases.

The whole is sometimes known as the two hundred and twenty-seven precepts.

HARMONDSWORTH, SLOUGH,
March 19th, 1875.

J. F. D.

P Â T I M O K K H A M.

I.—PUCCHĀVISSAJJANĀM.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.

Suṇātu me bhante saṅgho, yadi saṅghassa pattakallam ahaṃ āyasmantam itthamānam puccheyyāṃ.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.

Suṇātu me bhante saṅgho, yadi saṅghassa pattaḥkallaṃ
ahaṃ āyasmatā itthaṃnāmena vinayaṃ puṭṭho viṣṣajjeyyāṃ.

Sammajjāṇī paḍīpo ca
Udakaṃ āsanena ca
Uposathassa etāni
Pubbakaraṇaṃ ti vuccati.

Okāsa. “Sammajjāṇī.” Sammajjanakaraṇaṃ ca. “Paḍīpo
ca.” Paḍīpa-ujjalanaṃ ca: idāni suriyālokassa atthitāya
paḍīpakiccaṃ n’atthi. “Udakaṃ āsanena ca.” Āsanena
saha pāṇīyaparibhojanaṃ-udakatṭhapaṇaṃ ca. “Uposatha-
ssa etāni pubbakaraṇaṃ ti vuccati.” Etāni cattāri vattāni sam-
majjanakaraṇādāni saṅghasannipātato paṭhamāṃ kattabbattā
uposathassa uposathakammassa pubbakaraṇaṃ ti vuccati pub-
bakaraṇāṇi akkhātāni.

Chandapārisuddhi utukkhānaṃ
Bhikkhugaṇaṇā ca ovādo
Uposathassa etāni
Pubbakiccaṃ ti vuccati.

“Chandapārisuddhi.” Chandārahānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ chanda-
pārisuddhi āharaṇaṃ ca idha n’atthi.” “Uttukkhānaṃ.”
Hemantādīnaṃ tiṇṇaṃ utūnaṃ ettakaṃ atikkantaṃ ettakaṃ
avasitṭhaṃ ti evaṃ utu-ācikkhaṇaṃ, utūni ’dha pana sāsane
hemantagimhavassānānaṃ vasena tīni honti ayaṃ hemanta-
utumhi aṭṭha uposathā iminā pakkhena eko uposatho sam-
patto eko uposatho atikkanto cha uposathā avasitṭhā. “Bhik-
khugaṇaṇā ca.” Imasmiṃ uposathagge sannipatitānaṃ
bhikkhūnaṃ gaṇaṇā ettakā bhikkhū honti. “Ovādo.”
Bhikkhūnaṃ ovādo dātabbo idāni pana tāsāṃ n’atthitāya
so ca ovādo idha n’atthi. “Uposathassa etāni pubbakiccaṃ ti
vuccati.” Etāni pañca kammāni chandāharaṇādāni pātimok-
khuddesato paṭhamāṃ kattabbattā uposathassa uposathakam-
massa pubbakiccaṃ ti vuccati pubbakiccāṇi akkhātāni.

Uposatho yāvatikā ca bhikkhū
Kammappattā sabhāgāpattiyo ca
Na vijjanti vajjanīyā ca puggalā
Tasmiṃ na honti pattaḥkallaṃ ti vuccati.

“Upasatho.” Tīsu uposathadivasesu cātuddasīpannarasī-sāmaggīsu ajj’ uposatho pannaraso. “Yāvatikā ca bhikkhū kammappattā.” Yattakā bhikkhū tassa uposathakam-massa pattā yuttā anurūpā sabbantimena paricchena cat-tāro bhikkhū pakatattā saṅghena anukkhittā te ca kho bhikkhū hatthapāsani avijahitvā ekasīmāyaṃ tthitā. “Sabbhā-gāpattiyo ca na vijjanti.” Vikālabhojanādivatthusabhāga-pattiyo ca na vijjanti. “Vajjanīyā ca puggalā tasmiṃ na honti.” Gahatthapaṇḍakādayo^b ekavīsati vajjanīyā puggalā hatthapāsato bahikarānavasena vajjetabbā tasmiṃ na honti. “Pattakallan ti vuccati.” Saṅghassa uposathakammaṃ imehi catūhi lakkhaṇehi saṅghāṭṭam pattaḥkallam ti vuccati pattaḥkālavantam ti akkhātam. Pubbakarānapubbakiccāni samāpetvā desitāpattikassa samaggassa bhikkhusaṅghassa anumatiyā pātimokkham uddisitum ārāhanam karomi.

II.—NIDĀNAM.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. Sunātu me bhante saṅho ajj’ uposatho pannaraso. Yadi saṅghassa pattaḥkallam saṅho uposatham kareyya pāti-mokkham uddiseyya. Kiṃ saṅghassa pubbakiccam. Pāri-suddhiṃ āyasmanto ārocetha pātimokkham uddisissāmi. Tam sabbe’va santā sādhuḥkam sunoma manasikaroma. Yassa siyā āpatti so āvikareyya. Asantiyā āpattiyā tuṇhī bhavitabbam. Tuṇhībhāvena kho pan’āyasmante parisuddhā ti vedissāmi. Yathā kho pana paccekaputtḥassa veyyākaraṇam hoti evam evaṃ evarūpāya parisāya yāvatatīyam anusāvitam hoti. Yo pana bhikkhu yāvatatīyam anusāviyamāne saramāno santim āpattim n’āvikareyya sampajānamusāvād’ assa hoti. Sampa-jānamusāvādo kho pan’āyasmanto antarāyiko dhammo vutto bhagavatā. Tasmā saramānena bhikkhunā āpannena vi-suddhāpekkhena santī āpatti āvikātabbā. Āvikatā hi’ssa phāsu hoti. Uddiṭṭham kho āyasmanto nidānam. Tatth’ā-yasmante pucchāmi, kacci’ttha parisuddhā. Dutīyam pi pucchāmi, kacci’ttha parisuddhā. Tatiyam pi pucchāmi, kacci’ttha parisuddhā. Parisuddh’etth’āyasmanto tasmā tuṇhī, evaṃ etaṃ dhārayāmi.

Nidānuddeso niṭṭhito.

III.—PĀRĀJIKĀ.

Tatr'ime cattāro pārājikā dhammā uddesaṃ āgacchanti.

1. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhūnaṃ sikkhāsājavasaṃpanno sikkhaṃ apaccakkhāya dubbalyaṃ anāvikatvā methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭisevessa antamaso tiracchānagatāya pi pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso.

2. Yo pana bhikkhu gāmā va araṇṇā va adinnaṃ theyya-saṅkhātāṃ ādiyeyya yathārūpe adinnādāne rājāno coraṃ gahetvā haneyyūṃ va bandheyyuṃ va pabbājeyyūṃ va, coro'si bālo'si mūlho'si theno'siti, tathārūpaṃ bhikkhu adinnaṃ ādiyamāno ayam pi pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso.

3. Yo pana bhikkhu sañcicca manussaviggahaṃ jīvita voropeyya satthahāraṃ va'ssa pariyeseyya maraṇavannaṃ va saṃvaṇṇeyya maraṇāya va samādapeyya, ambho purisa kiṃ tuyh'iminā pāpakena dujjivitena mataṃ te jīvita seyyo ti, iti cittaṃmano iti cittasaṅkappo anekapariyāyena maraṇavannaṃ va saṃvaṇṇeyya maraṇāya va samādapeyya ayam pi pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso.

4. Yo pana bhikkhu anabhijānaṃ uttarimanussadhammaṃ attūpanāyikaṃ alamariyañānadassanaṃ samudācareyya, iti jānāmi iti passāmi, tato aparena samayena samanuggāhiyamāno va asamanuggāhiyamāno va āpanno visuddhāpekkho evaṃ vadeyya, ajānaṃ evaṃ āvuso avacaṃ jānāmi apassaṃ passaṃi tucchaṃ musā vilapin ti, aññatra adhimānā ayam pi pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso.

Uddiṭṭhā kho āyasmanto cattāro pārājikā dhammā. Yesaṃ bhikkhu aññataraṃ va aññataraṃ va āpajjitvā na labhati bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ saṃvāsaṃ yathā pure tathā pacchā pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso. Tatth'āyasmante pucchāmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhā. Dutiyam pi pucchāmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhā. Tatiyam pi pucchāmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhā. Parisuddh'etth'āyasmanto tasmā tunhī, evaṃ etaṃ dhārayāmi.

Pārājikuddeso niṭṭhito.

[Uddiṭṭhaṃ kho āyasmanto nidānaṃ. Uddiṭṭhā cattāro pārājikā dhammā. Sūtā kho paṇ'āyasmantehi terasa saṅghādisesā dhammā, dve aniyatā dhammā, timsa nissaggiyā pācittiyā dhammā, dvenavuti pācittiyā dhammā, cattāro pāṭidesaniyā dhammā, sekhiyā dhammā, satta adhikaraṇasamathā

dhammā. Ettakam tassa bhagavato suttāgataṃ suttapariyāpannaṃ anvaddhamāsaṃ uddesaṃ āgacchati, tattha sabbe h'eva sammaggehi sammodamānehi avivadamānehi sikkhitabban ti.]

IV.—SAṄGHĀDISESA.

Ime kho pan'āyasmanto terasa saṅghādisesa dhammā uddesaṃ āgacchanti.

1. Sañcetanikā sukkavissatṭhi aññatra supinantā saṅghādiseso.

2. Yo pana bhikkhu otiṇṇo viparinatena cittena mātugāmena saddhiṃ kāyasamsaggaṃ samāpajjeyya hatthagāhaṃ vā veṇigāhaṃ vā aññatarassa va āgassa parāmasanaṃ saṅghādiseso.

3. Yo pana bhikkhu otiṇṇo viparinatena cittena mātugāmaṃ duṭṭhullāhi vācāhi obhāseyya yathā taṃ yuvā yuvatiṃ methunūpasamhitāhi saṅghādiseso.

4. Yo pana bhikkhu otiṇṇo viparinatena cittena mātugāmassa santike attakāmapāricariyāya vaṇṇaṃ bhāseyya, etadaggaṃ bhagini pāricariyānaṃ yā mādisaṃ sīlavantaṃ kalyāṇadhammaṃ brahmacāriṃ etena dhammena paricareyyāti, methunūpasamhitena saṅghādiseso.

5. Yo pana bhikkhu sañcarittaṃ samāpajjeyya itthiyā vā purisamatiṃ purisassa vā itthimatiṃ jāyattane vā jārattane vā antamaso taṃkhaṇikāya pi saṅghādiseso.

6. Saṃyācikāya pana bhikkhunā kuṭiṃ kārayamānena assāmikaṃ attuddesaṃ pamānikā karetabbā. Tatr'idam pamānaṃ, dīghaso dvādasa vidatthiyo sugatavidatthiyā,^e tiriyaṃ sattantarā, bhikkhū abhinetaḥ vā vattthudesanāya, tehi bhikkhūhi vatthum desetabbaṃ anārambhaṃ sapaṛikkamanam. Sārambhe ce bhikkhu vatthusmiṃ aparikkamane saṃyācikāya kuṭiṃ kareyya, bhikkhū vā anabhineyya vatthudesanāya, pamānaṃ vā atikkameyya, saṅghādiseso.

7. Mahallakaṃ pana bhikkhunā vihāraṃ kārayamānena sassāmikaṃ attuddesaṃ bhikkhū abhinetaḥ vā vatthudesanāya tehi bhikkhūhi vatthum desetabbaṃ anārambhaṃ sapaṛikkamanam. Sārambhe ce bhikkhu vatthusmiṃ aparikka-

mane mahallakam vihāram kareyya bhikkhū vā anabhineyya vatthudesanāya saṅghādiseso.

8. Yo pana bhikkhū bhikkhum dutṭho doso appatito amūlakena pārājikena dhammena anuddhamseyya, app eva nāma nam imamhā brahmacariyā cāveyyan ti, tato aparena samayena samanuggāhiyamāno vā asamanuggāhiyamāno vā amūlakañ c'eva tam adhikaraṇam hoti bhikkhu ca dosam patitṭhāti saṅghādiseso.

9. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhum dutṭho doso appatito añña-bhāgiyassa adhikaraṇassa kiñci desam lesamattam upādāya pārājikena dhammena anuddhamseyya, app eva nāma nam imamhā brahmacariyā caveyyan ti, tato aparena samayena samanuggāhiyamāno vā asamanuggāhiyamāno vā aññabhāgiyañ c'eva tam adhikaraṇam hoti koci deso lesamatto upādinno bhikkhu ca dosam patitṭhāti saṅghādiseso.

10. Yo pana bhikkhu samaggassa saṅghassa bhedaḍḍha parakkameyya bhedanasamvattanikam vā adhikaraṇam samāḍḍha paggayha titṭheyya so bhikkhu bhikkhūhi evam assa vacanīyo, mā āyasmā samaggassa saṅghassa bhedaḍḍha parakkami bhedanasamvattanikam vā adhikaraṇam samāḍḍha paggayha atṭhāsi, samet'āyasmā saṅghena, samaggo hi saṅgho sammodamāno avivadamāno ekuddeso phāsu viharatīti. Evañ ca so bhikkhu bhikkhūhi vuccamāno tath'eva paggaṇheyya so bhikkhu bhikkhūhi yāvatatīyam samanubhāsitabbo tassa paṭinissaggāya, yāvatatīyam ce samanubhāsiyamāno tam paṭinissajeyya icc etaṃ kusalam no ce paṭinissajeyya saṅghādiseso.

11. Tass'eva kho pana bhikkhussa bhikkhū honti anuvattakā vaggavādakā eko vā dve vā tayo vā, te evam vadeyyum, mā āyasmanto etaṃ bhikkhum kiñci avacuttha dhammavādī c'eso bhikkhu vinayavādī c'eso bhikkhu amhākañ c'eso bhikkhu chandañ ca ruciñ ca ādāya voharati jānāti no bhāsati amhākam p'etaṃ khamatīti, te bhikkhū bhikkhūhi evam assu vacanīyā, mā āyasmanto evam avacuttha na c'eso bhikkhu dhammavādī na c'eso bhikkhu vinayavādī mā āyasmantānam pi saṅghabhedo rucittha samet'āyasmantānam saṅghena samaggo hi saṅgho sammodamāno avivadamāno ekuddeso phāsu viharatīti, evañ ca te bhikkhū bhikkhūhi

vuccamânâ tath'eva paggaṇheyyum te bhikkhû bhikkhûhi yâvatatiyaṃ samanubhâsitaḃbâ tassa paṇissaggâya, yâvatatiyaṃ ce samanubhâsiyamânâ taṃ paṇissajeyyum icc etaṃ kusalaṃ no ce paṇissajeyyum saṅghâdhiseso.

12. Bhikkhu paṇ'eva dubbacajâtiko hoti uddesapariyâpanesu sikkhâpadesu bhikkhûhi sahadhammikaṃ vuccamâno attânaṃ avacaṇiyaṃ karoti, mâ maṃ âyasmanto kiñci avacuttha kalyâṇaṃ vâ pâpakaṃ vâ ahaṃ p'âyasmante na kiñci vakkhâmi kalyâṇaṃ vâ pâpakaṃ vâ viramath'âyasmanto mama vacanâyâti, so bhikkhu bhikkhûhi evaṃ assa vacaṇiyo, mâ âyasmâ attânaṃ avacaṇiyaṃ akâsi vacaṇiyaṃ eva âyasmâ attânaṃ karotu âyasmâ pi bhikkhû vadetu sahadhammena bhikkhû pi âyasmantaṃ vakkhanti sahadhammena evaṃ samivaddhâ hi tassa bhagavato parisâ yadidaṃ aññamañña-vacanena aññamañña vatthâpanenâti, evaṃ ca so bhikkhu bhikkhûhi vuccamâno tath'eva paggaṇheyya so bhikkhu bhikkhûhi yâvatatiyaṃ samanubhâsitaḃbo tassa paṇissaggâya yâvatatiyaṃ ce samanubhâsiyamâno taṃ paṇissajeyya icc etaṃ kusalaṃ no ce paṇissajeyya saṅghâdiseso.

13. Bhikkhu paṇ'eva aññataraṃ gâmaṃ vâ nigamaṃ vâ upanissâya viharati kuladûsako pâpasamâcâro, tassa pâpakâ samâcârâ dissanti c'eva sûyanti ca, kulâni ca tena dutthâni dissanti c'eva sûyanti ca; so bhikkhu bhikkhûhi evaṃ assa vacaṇiyo, âyasmâ kho kuladûsako pâpasamâcâro âyasmato kho pâpakâ samâcârâ dissanti c'eva sûyanti ca kulâni ca âyasmatâ dutthâni dissanti c'eva sûyanti ca, pakkamat' âyasmâ imamahâ âvâsâ alaṃ te idhavâsenâti. Evaṃ ca so bhikkhu bhikkhûhi vuccamâno te bhikkhû evaṃ vadeyya, chandagâmino ca bhikkhû dosagâmino ca bhikkhû mohagâmino ca bhikkhû bhayagâmino ca bhikkhû tâdisikâya âpattiya ekaccaṃ pabbâjenti ekaccaṃ na pabbâjenti, so bhikkhu bhikkhûhi evaṃ assa vacaṇiyo, mâ âyasmâ evaṃ avaca, na ca bhikkhû chandagâmino na ca bhikkhû dosagâmino na ca bhikkhû mohagâmino na ca bhikkhû bhayagâmino, âyasmâ kho kuladûsako pâpasamâcâro, âyasmato kho pâpakâ samâcârâ dissanti c'eva sûyanti ca kulâni c'âyasmatâ dutthâni dissanti c'eva sûyanti ca, pakkamat' âyasmâ imamahâ âvâsâ, alaṃ te idhavâsenâti.

Evañ ca so bhikkhu bhikkhūhi vuccamāno tath'eva paggañ-
heyya so bhikkhu bhikkhūhi yāvatatiyañ samanubhāsitaḥ
tassa paṭinissaggāya yāvatatiyañ ce samanubhāsīyamāno tañ
paṭinissajeyya icc etañ kusalañ no ce paṭinissajeyya sañ-
ghādiseso.

Uddiṭṭhā kho āyasmanto terasa saṅghadisesā dhammā,
nava paṭhamāpattikā cattāro yāvatatiyakā. Yesaṃ bhikkhu
aññatarāñ vā aññatarāñ vā āpajjitvā yāvatitañ jānañ paṭi-
cchādeti tāvatitañ tena bhikkhunā akāmā parivatthabbāñ
parivutthaparivāsesa bhikkhunā uttarāñ chāratāñ bhikkhu-
mānattāya paṭipajjitabbāñ cinnamānatto bhikkhu yattha siyā
vīsati gaṇo bhikkhusaṅgho tattha so bhikkhu abbhetaḥ.
Ekena pi ce ūno vīsati gaṇo bhikkhusaṅgho tañ bhikkhurañ
abbheyya so ca bhikkhu anabbhito te ca bhikkhū gārayhā.
Ayañ tattha samīci. Tatth' āyasmante pucchāmi, kacci'ttha
parisuddhā. Duttiyañ pi pucchāmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhā.
Tatiyañ pi pucchāmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhā. Parisuddh' etth'
āyasmanto tasmā tuṇhī, evaṃ etañ dhārayāmi.

Saṅghādisesuddeso nitṭhito.

V.—ANİYATĀ DHAMMĀ.

Ime kho pañ'āyasmanto dve aniyatā dhammā uddesañ
āgacchanti.

1. Yo pana bhikkhu mātugāmena saddhiñ eko ekāya
raho paṭicchanne āsane alañkammaniye nisajjāñ kappeyya
tañ enaṃ saddheyyavacasā upāsikā disvā tiṇṇaṃ dhammā-
nañ aññatarena vadeyya pārājikena vā saṅghādisesena vā
pācittiyaena vā nisajjāñ bhikkhu paṭijānamāno tiṇṇaṃ dham-
mānañ aññatarena karetaḥ pārājikena vā saṅghādisesena
vā pācittiyaena vā yena vā sā saddheyyavacasā upāsikā
vadeyya tena so bhikkhu karetaḥ. Ayañ dhammo aniyato.

2. Na h'eva kho pana paṭicchannañ āsanañ hoti nālaṇ-
kammaniyañ alaṇ ca kho hoti mātugāmañ dutṭhullāhi vācāhi
obhāsitañ yo pana bhikkhu tathārūpe āsane mātugāmena
saddhiñ eko ekāya raho nisajjāñ kappeyya tañ enaṃ
saddheyyavacasā upāsikā disvā dvinnāñ dhammānañ añña-
atarena vadeyya saṅghādisesena vā pācittiyaena vā, nisajjāñ

bhikkhu paṭijānamāno dvinnam dhammānam aññatarena kâretabbo saṅghâdisesena vâ pâcittiyaena vâ yena vâ sâ saddheyyavacasâ upâsikâ vadeyya tena so bhikkhu kâretabbo, ayam pi dhammo aniyato.

Uddiṭṭhâ kho âyasmanto dve aniyatâ dhammâ. Tatth' âyasmante pucchâmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhâ. Dutiyam pi pucchâmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhâ. Tatiyam pi pucchâmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhâ. Parisuddh'etth'âyasmanto tasmâ tunhî, evam etaṃ dhârayâmi.

Aniyatuddeso niṭṭhito.

VI.—NISSAGGIYÂ PÂCITTIYÂ DHAMMÂ.

Ime kho pan'âyasmanto timsa nissaggiyâ pâcittiya dhammâ^d uddesaṃ âgacchanti.

1. Niṭṭhitacîvarasmim^e pana bhikkhunâ ubbhatasmim kathine dasâhaparamam atirekacîvaram dhâretabbam taṃ atikkâmayato nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

2. Niṭṭhitacîvarasmim pana bhikkhunâ ubbhatasmim kathine ekarattim pi ce bhikkhu ticîvarena vippavaseyya aññatra bhikkhusammutiyâ nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

3. Niṭṭhitacîvarasmim pana bhikkhunâ ubbhatasmim kathine bhikkhuno pan'eva akâlacîvaram uppajjeyya âkaṇkhamânaena bhikkhunâ paṭiggahetabbam paṭiggahetvâ khippam eva kâretabbam no c' assa pâripûri mâsaparamam tena bhikkhunâ taṃ cîvaram nikkhipitabbam ûnassa pâripûriyâ satiyâ paccâsâya tato ce uttarim nikkhipeyya satiyâ pi paccâsâya nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

4. Yo pana bhikkhu aññâtikâya bhikkhuniyâ purâna-cîvaram dhovâpeyya vâ rajâpeyya vâ âkoṭâpeyya vâ nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

5. Yo pana bhikkhu aññâtikâya bhikkhuniyâ hatthato cîvaram patiganheyya aññatra pârivattakâ nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

6. Yo pana bhikkhu aññâtakam gahapatim vâ gahapatânim vâ cîvaram viññâpeyya aññatra samayâ nissaggiyam pâcittiyam. Tatthâyam samayo, acchinnacîvaro vâ hoti bhikkhu natthacîvaro vâ, ayam tattha samayo.

7. Tañ ce aññâtako gahapati vâ gahapatâni vâ bahûhi cîvarehi abhihatthum pavâreyya santaruttaraparamantena bhikkhunâ tato cîvaram sâditabbam. Tato ce uttarim sâdiyeyya nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

8. Bhikkhum pan' eva uddissa aññâtakassa vâ gahapâtissa vâ gahapatâniyâ vâ cîvaracetâpannam upakkhatam hoti iminâ cîvaracetâpannena cîvaram cetâpetvâ itthannâmam bhikkhum cîvarena acchâdessâmîti tatra ce so bhikkhu pubbe appavârîto upasankamitvâ cîvare vikappam âpajjeyya, sâdhu vata mam âysmâ iminâ cîvaracetâpannena evarûpam vâ evarûpam vâ cîvaram cetâpetvâ acchâdehîti, kalyâṇakamyatam upâdâya nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

9. Bhikkhum pan' eva uddissa ubhinnam aññâtakânam gahapatînam vâ gahapatânînam vâ paccekacîvaracetâpannâ upakkhatâ honti imehi mayam paccekacîvaracetâpannehi paccekacîvarâni cetâpetvâ itthannâmam bhikkhum cîvarehi acchâdessâmîti tatra ce so bhikkhu pubbe appavârîto upasankamitvâ cîvare vikappam âpajjeyya, sâdhu vata mam âysmanto imehi paccekacîvaracetâpannehi evarûpam vâ evarûpam vâ cîvaram cetâpetvâ acchâdetha ubho vasantâ ekenâti, kalyâṇakamyatam upâdâya nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

10. Bhikkhum pan' eva uddissa râjâ vâ râjabhoggo vâ brâhmaṇo vâ gahapatiko va dûtena cîvaracetâpannam pahineyya iminâ cîvaracetâpannena cîvaram cetâpetvâ itthannâmam bhikkhum cîvarena acchâdehîti so ce dûto tam bhikkhum upasankamitvâ evam vadeyya, idam kho bhante âysmantam uddissa cîvaracetâpannam âbhatam patiganhâtu âysmâ cîvaracetâpannam ti, tena bhikkhunâ so dûto evam assa vacanîyo, na kho mayam âvuso cîvaracetâpannam patiganhâma cîvaraṇ ca kho mayam patiganhâma kâlana kappiyam ti, so ce dûto tam bhikkhum evam vadeyya, atthi pan' âysmato koci veyyâvaccakaro ti, cîvaratthikena bhikkhave bhikkhunâ veyyâvaccakaro niddisitabbo âramiko vâ upâsako vâ, eso kho âvuso bhikkhûnam veyyâvaccakaro ti, so ce dûto tam veyyâvaccakaram saññâpetvâ tam bhikkhum upasankamitvâ evam vadeyya, yam kho bhante âysmâ veyyâvaccakaram niddisi saññatto so mayâ upasankamatu âysmâ kâlana cîvarena tam acchâdessatîti, cîvaratthikena bhi-

kkhave bhikkhunā veyyāvaccakaro upasaṅkamitvā dvattikkhattuṃ codetabbo sâretabbo, attho me âvuso cîvarenâti, dvattikkhattuṃ codiyamâno sâriyamâno taṃ cîvaram abhinipphâdeyya icc etaṃ kusalam no ce abhinipphâdeyya catukkhattuṃ pañcakkhattuṃ chakkhattuṃ paramaṃ tuṇhîbhûtena uddissa t̃hâtabbam, catukkhattuṃ pañcakkhattuṃ chakkhattuṃ paramaṃ tuṇhîbhûto uddissa tiṭṭhamâno taṃ cîvaram abhinipphâdeyya icc etaṃ kusalam no ce abhinipphâdeyya tato ce uttariṃ vâyamâno taṃ cîvaram abhinipphâdeyya nissaggiyaṃ pācittiyam. No ce abhinipphâdeyya yat'assa cîvaracetāpannam ābhataṃ tattha sâmaṃ vā gantabbam dūto vā pāhetabbo, yaṃ kho tumhe âyasmanto bhikkhuṃ uddissa cîvaracetāpannam pahīnittha na taṃ tassa bhikkhuno kiñci atthaṃ anubhoti yuñjant' âyasmanto sakaṃ mā vo sakaṃ vinassāti. Ayaṃ tattha sāmīci.

Cîvaravaggo paṭhamo.

11. Yo pana bhikkhu kosiyaṃissakaṃ santhataṃ kârāpeyya nissaggiyaṃ pācittiyam.

12. Yo pana bhikkhu suddhakālakānaṃ elakalomānaṃ santhataṃ kârāpeyya nissaggiyaṃ pācittiyam.

13. Navam pana bhikkhunā santhataṃ kârāyamānena dve bhāgā suddhakālakānaṃ elakalomānaṃ ādātābbā tatiyaṃ odātānaṃ catuttham gocarīyaṇam. Anādā ce bhikkhu dve bhāge suddhakālakānaṃ elakalomānaṃ tatiyaṃ odātānaṃ catuttham gocarīyaṇam navam santhataṃ kârāpeyya nissaggiyaṃ pācittiyam.

14. Navam pana bhikkhunā santhataṃ kârāpetvā chabbassāni dhāretabbam. Orena ca channaṃ vassānaṃ taṃ santhataṃ vissajjetvā vā avissajjetvā vā aññaṃ navam santhataṃ kârāpeyya aññatra bhikkhusammutiyā nissaggiyaṃ pācittiyam.

15. Nisīdanasanthataṃ pana bhikkhunā kârāyamānena purāṇasanthatassa sāmantā sugatavidatthi ādātābbā dubbapākaraṇāya. Anādā ce bhikkhu purāṇasanthatassa sāmantā sugatavidatthiṃ navam nisīdanasanthataṃ kârāpeyya nissaggiyaṃ pācittiyam.

16. Bhikkhuno pan'eva addhānamaggapaṭipannassa elakomāni upajjeyyūṃ ākaṅkhamānena bhikkhunā paṭiggahe-

tabbâni paṭiggahetvâ tiyojanaparamaṃ sahatthâ hâretabbâni asante hârake tato ce uttarim hareyya asante pi hârake nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ.

17. Yo pana bhikkhu aññâtikâya bhikkhuniyâ elakalomâni dhovâpeyya vâ rajâpeyya vâ vijatâpeyya vâ nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ.

18. Yo pana bhikkhu jâtarûparajataṃ uggaṇheyya vâ uggaṇhâpeyya vâ upanikkhittaṃ vâ sâdiyeyya nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ.

19. Yo pana bhikkhu nânappakâraṃ rûpiyaṃvo-hâraṃ samâpajjeyya nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ.

20. Yo pana bhikkhu nânappakâraṃ kayavikkayaṃ samâpajjeyya nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ.

Kosiyavaggo dutiyo.

21. Dasâhaparamaṃ atirekapatto dhâretabbo taṃ atikkâmayato nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ.

22. Yo pana bhikkhu ânapañcabandhanena pattena aññam navam pattaṃ cetâpeyya nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ. Tena bhikkhunâ so patto bhikkhuparisâya nissajitabbo yo ca tassâ bhikkhuparisâya pattapariyanto so ca tassa bhikkhuno padâtabbo, ayaṃ te bhikkhu patto yâvabhedanâya dhâretabbo ti. Ayaṃ tattha sâmicî.

23. Yâni kho pana tâni gilânânaṃ bhikkhûnaṃ paṭisâyaniyâni bhesajjâni seyyathidaṃ sappi navañitaṃ telam madhu phañitaṃ tâni paṭiggahetvâ sattâhaparamaṃ sannidhikâraṃ paribhuñjitabbâni taṃ atikkâmayato nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ.

24. Mâso seso gimhânaṃ ti bhikkhunâ vassikasâṭikacîvaram pariyesitabbaṃ, addhamâso seso gimhânaṃ ti katvâ nivâsetabbaṃ, orena ce mâso seso gimhânaṃ ti vassikasâṭikacîvaram pariyeseyya oren' addhamâso seso gimhânaṃ ti katvâ nivâseyya nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ.

25. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhussa sâmaṃ cîvaram datvâ pacchâ kupito anattamano acchindeyya vâ acchindâpeyya vâ nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ.

26. Yo pana bhikkhu sâmaṃ suttaṃ viññâpetvâ tantavâyehi cîvaram vâvâpeyya nissaggiyaṃ pâcittiyaṃ.

27. Bhikkhuṃ pan'eva uddissa aññâtako gahapati vâ

gahapatâni vâ tantavâyehi cîvaram vâvâpeyya, tatra ce so bhikkhu pubbe appavârîto tantavâyê upasaṅkamitvâ cîvare vikappaṃ âpajjeyya, idaṃ kho âvuso cîvaram maṃ uddissa viyati âyataṃ ca karoṭha vitthataṃ ca appitaṃ ca suvitaṃ ca supavâyitaṃ ca suvilekhitaṃ ca suvitacchitaṃ ca karoṭha appevanâma mayam pi âyasmantânam kiñcimattaṃ anupadañjeyyâmâti, evaṃ ca bhikkhu vatvâ kiñcimattaṃ anupadañjeyya antamaso piṇḍapâtamattam pi nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

28. Dâsâhânâgataṃ kattikatemâsipunṇamam' bhikkhuno pan'eva accekacîvaram uppajjeyya accekam maññamânena bhikkhunâ paṭiggâhetabbaṃ paṭiggâhetvâ yâvacîvarakâlasamayam nikkhipitabbaṃ tato ce uttarim nikkhipeyya nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

29. Upavassam kho pana kattikapunṇamam yâni kho pana tâni araṇṇakâni senâsanâni sâsaṅkasammatâni sappatibhayâni tathârûpesu bhikkhu senâsanesu viharanto âkaṅkhamâno tiṇṇam cîvarânam aṇṇataram cîvaram antaraghare nikkhipeyya siyâ ce tassa bhikkhuno kocid eva paccayo tena cîvarena vippavâsâya chârattaparamam tena bhikkunâ tena cîvarena vippavasitabbaṃ. Tato ce uttarim vippavaseyya aṇṇatra bhikkhusammutiyâ nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

30. Yo pana bhikkhu jânam saṅghikam lâbham parinattam attano parinâmeyya nissaggiyam pâcittiyam.

Pattavaggo tatiyo.

Uddiṭṭhâ kho âyasmanto timsa nissaggiyâ pâcittiyâ dhammâ. Tatth' âyasmante pucchâmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhâ. Dutiyam pi pucchâmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhâ. Tatiyam pi pucchâmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhâ. Parisuddh'etth' âyasmanto tasmâ tuṇhî, evam etaṃ dhârayâmi.

Nissaggiyam niṭṭhitaṃ.

VII.—PÂCITTİYÂ DHAMMÂ.

Ime kho pan' âyasmanto dvenavuti pâcittiyâ dhammâ uddeśam âgacchanti.

1. Sampajānamusâvâde pâcittiyam.
2. Omasavâde pâcittiyam.
3. Bhikkhupesunñe pâcittiyam.

4. Yo pana bhikkhu anupasampannañ padaso dhammañ vâceyya pâcittiyañ.

5. Yo pana bhikkhu anupasampannena^a uttarim̐ dirattatirattañ sahasēyyaṃ kappeyya pâcittiyañ.

6. Yo pana bhikkhu mâtagâmassa sahasēyyaṃ kappeyya pâcittiyañ.

7. Yo pana bhikkhu mâtagâmassa uttarim̐ chappañcavâcâhi dhammañ desēyya aññatra viññunâ purisaviggahena pâcittiyañ.

8. Yo pana bhikkhu anupasampannassa uttarimanussa-dhammañ âroceyya bhûtasmiṃ pâcittiyañ.

9. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhussa dutthullañ âpattim̐ anupasampannassa âroceyya aññatra bhikkhusammutiyâ pâcittiyañ.

10. Yo pana bhikkhu paṭhaviṃ khaṇeṃ khaṇâpeyya vâ pâcittiyañ.

Musâvâdavaggo paṭhamo.

11. Bhûtagâmapâtavyatâya pâcittiyañ.

12. Aññâvâdake vihesake pâcittiyañ.

13. Ujjhâpanake khîyanake pâcittiyañ.

14. Yo pana bhikkhu saṅghikaṃ mañcam vâ pîṭhaṃ vâ bhisim̐ vâ kocchaṃ vâ ajjhokâse santharitvâ vâ santharâpetvâ vâ taṃ pakkamanto n'eva uddhareyya n'uddharâpeyya anâpuccham̐ vâ gaccheyya pâcittiyañ.

15. Yo pana bhikkhu saṅghike vihâre seyyaṃ santharitvâ vâ santharâpetvâ vâ taṃ pakkamanto n'eva uddhareyya n'uddharâpeyya anâpuccham̐ vâ gaccheyya pâcittiyañ.

16. Yo pana bhikkhu saṅghike vihâre jânaṃ pubbûpâgataṃ bhikkhum̐ anupakhajja^b seyyaṃ kappeyya, yassa sambâdho bhavissatîti so pakkamissatîti, etad eva paccayaṃ karitvâ anaññaṃ pâcittiyañ.

17. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhum̐ kupito anattamano saṅghikâ vihârâ nikkaddheyya vâ nikkaddhâpeyya vâ pâcittiyañ.

18. Yo pana bhikkhu saṅghike vihâre uparivehâsakutiyâ^c âhaccapâdakaṃ mañcam vâ pîṭhaṃ vâ sahasâ abhinisideyya vâ abhinipajjeyya vâ pâcittiyañ.

19. Mahallakaṃ pana bhikkhunâ vihâraṃ kârayamâna

yâva dvâarakosâ aggalatthapanâya âlokasandhiparikammâya dvatticchedanassa pariâyâya appaharite t̥hiteṇa adhiṭṭhâtabbam, tato ce uttarim appaharite t̥hito pi adhiṭṭhaheyya pâcittiyam.^h

20. Yo pana bhikkhu jânam sappâṇakam udakam t̥ṇam vâ mattikam vâ siṇceyya vâ siṇcâpeyya vâ pâcittiyam.

Bhûtagâmaṇavaggo dutiyo.

21. Yo pana bhikkhu asammato bhikkhuniyo ovadeyya pâcittiyam.

22. Sammato pi ce bhikkhu atthaṅgate suriye bhikkhuniyo ovadeyya pâcittiyam.

23. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhunûpassayam upasankamitvâ bhikkhuniyo ovadeyya aññatra samayâ pâcittiyam. Tatthâyam samayo, gilânâ hoti bhikkhunî, ayam tattha samayo.

24. Yo pana bhikkhu evam vadeyya, âmisahetu bhikkhû bhikkhuniyo oḍantitî, pâcittiyam.

25. Yo pana bhikkhu aññâtikâya bhikkhuniyâ cîvaram dadeyya aññatra pârivatṭakâ pâcittiyam.

26. Yo pana bhikkhu aññâtikâya bhikkhuniyâ cîvaram sibbeyya vâ sibbâpeyya vâ pâcittiyam.

27. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhuniyâ saddhim samvidhâya ekaddhânamaggam paṭipajjeyya antamaso gâmantaram pi aññatra samayâ pâcittiyam. Tatthâyam samayo, satthagamaniyo hoti maggo sâsankasammato sappatibhayo, ayam tattha samayo.

28. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhuniyâ saddhim samvidhâya ekam nâvam abhirûheyya uddhagâminim vâ adhogâminim vâ aññatra tiriyantaraṇâya pâcittiyam.

29. Yo pana bhikkhu jânam bhikkhuniparipâcitam piṇḍapâtam paribhuñjeyya aññatra pubbe gihisamârambhâ pâcittiyam.

30. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhuniyâ saddhim eko ekâya raho nisajjam kappeyyâ pâcittiyam.

Bhikkhunovâdavaggo tatiyo.

31. Agilânena bhikkhunâ eko âvasathapiṇḍo bhuñjitabbo tato ce uttarim bhuñjeyya pâcittiyam.

32. Gaṇabhojane aññatra samayâ pâcittiyam. Tatthâyam

samayo; gilānasamayo cīvaradānasamayo cīvarakārasamayo addhānagamasamayo, navabhirūhanasamayo, mahāsamayo¹ samanabhattasamayo; ayaṃ tattha samayo.

33. Paramparabhojane aññatra samayā pācittiyaṃ. Ta-tthāyaṃ samayo, gilānasamayo, cīvaradānasamayo, cīvara-kārasamayo, ayaṃ tattha samayo.

34. Bhikkhū paṇ'eva kulāṃ upagataṃ pūvehi vā man-thehi vā abhihaṭṭhūṃ pavāreyya ākaṅkhamānena bhikkhūṇā dvattipattapūra paṭiggahetabbā tato ce uttarim paṭigaṇheyya pācittiyaṃ. Dvattipattapūre paṭiggahetvā tato nīharitvā bhikkhūhi saddhim saṃvibhajitabbaṃ ayaṃ tattha sāmici.

35. Yo pana bhikkhu bhuttāvī pavārīto anatirittāṃ khā-daniyaṃ vā bhojaniyaṃ vā khādeyya vā bhuñjeyya vā pācittiyaṃ.^m

36. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhūṃ bhuttāvīm pavāritāṃ anatirittena khādaniyena vā bhojaniyena vā abhihaṭṭhūṃ pavāreyya, handa bhikkhu khāda vā bhuñja vā ti, jānaṃ āsādanāpekho bhuttasmiṃ pācittiyaṃ.

37. Yo pana bhikkhu vikāle khādaniyaṃ vā bhojaniyaṃ vā khādeyya vā bhuñjeyya vā pācittiyaṃ.

38. Yo pana bhikkhu sannidhikāraṇaṃ khādaniyaṃ vā bhojaniyaṃ vā khādeyya vā bhuñjeyya vā pācittiyaṃ.

39. Yāni kho pana tani paṇītabhojanāni, seyyathādaṃ sappi navaṇītaṃ telāṃ madhupphāṇitaṃ maccho maṃsaṃ khīraṃ, dadhi, yo pana bhikkhu evarūpāni paṇītabhoja-nāni agilāno attano atthāya viññāpetvā paribhuñjeyya pācittiyaṃ.

40. Yo pana bhikkhu adinnaṃ mukhadvāraṃ āhāraṃ āhareyya aññatra udakadantapona² pācittiyaṃ.

Bhojanavaggo catuttho.

41. Yo pana bhikkhu acelakassa vā paribbājakassa va paribbājikāya vā sahaṭṭhā khādaniyaṃ vā bhojaniyaṃ va dadeyya pācittiyaṃ.

42. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhūṃ evaṃ vadeyya, eh'āvuso gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ va piṇḍāya pavississāmāti, tassa dāpetvā vā adāpetvā vā uyyojeyya, gacch'āvuso na me tayā saddhim kathā vā nisajjā vā phāsu hoti ekakassa me kathā vā nisajjā vā phāsu hotīti, etad eva paccayaṃ karitvā anaññaṃ pācittiyaṃ.

43. Yo pana bhikkhu sabhojane kule anupakhajja nisa-jjam kappeyya pâcittiyam.

44. Yo pana bhikkhu mâtugâmena saddhim raho paṭi-
channe âsane nisajjam kappeyya pâcittiyam.

45. Yo pana bhikkhu mâtugâmena saddhim eko ekâya
raho nisajjam kappeyya pâcittiyam.

46. Yo pana bhikkhu nimantito sabhatto samâno santam
bhikkhum anâpucchâ purebhattam vâ pacchâbhattam vâ
kulesu cārittam âpajjeyya aññatra samayâ pâcittiyam.
Tatthâyam samayo cīvaradānasamayo cīvarakārasamayo,
ayam tattha samayo.

47. Agilānena bhikkhunâ cātumâsapaccayapavāraṇâ sâdi-
tabbâ aññatra punapavāraṇâya aññatra nīccapavāraṇâya,
tato ce uttarim sâdiyeyya pâcittiyam.

48. Yo pana bhikkhu uyyuttam senam dassanâya
gaccheyya aññatra tathârûpappaccayâ pâcittiyam.

49. Siyâ ca tassa bhikkhuno kocid eva paccayo senam
gamanâya dirattatirattam tena bhikkhunâ senâya vasitabbam,
tato ce uttarim vaseyya pâcittiyam.

50. Dirattatirattañ ce bhikkhu senâya vasamâno uyyodhi-
kam vâ balaggam vâ senâbyûham vâ anīkadassanam vâ
gaccheyya pâcittiyam.

Acelakavaggo pañcama.

51. Surâmerayapâne pâcittiyam.

52. Angulipatodake pâcittiyam.

53. Udale hassadhamme pâcittiyam.

54. Anâdariye pâcittiyam.

55. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhum himsâpeyya pâcittiyam.

56. Yo pana bhikkhu agilāno visīvanâpekho jotim samâ-
daheyya vâ samâdahâpeyya vâ aññatra tathârûpappaccayâ
pâcittiyam.

57. Yo pana bhikkhu oren'addhamâsam nahâpeyya añña-
tra samayâ pâcittiyam. Tatthâyam samayo, diyaddho mâso
seso gimhānan ti vassānassa paṭhamo mâso icc ete addha-
teyyamâsā unhasamayo parilāhasamayo gilānasamayo kam-
masamayo addhānagamasamayo vātavutthisamayo, ayam
tattha samayo.

58. Navam pana bhikkhunâ cīvaralābhena tiṇṇam dubb-

aṇṇakaraṇānaṃ aṇṇataraṃ dubbhaṇṇakaraṇaṃ ādātabbhaṃ
nīlaṃ vā kaddamaṃ vā kālasāmaṃ vā anāda ce bhikkhu
tiṇṇaṃ dubbhaṇṇakaraṇānaṃ aṇṇataraṃ dubbhaṇṇakaraṇaṃ
navaṃ cīvaraṃ paribhuñjeyya pācittiyaṃ.

59. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhussa vā bhikkhuniyā vā
sikkhamānāya vā sāmaṇerassa vā sāmaṇeriyā^o vā sāmaṇi
cīvaraṃ vikappetvā apaccuddhāraṃ paribhuñjeyya
pācittiyaṃ.

60. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhussa pattaṃ vā cīvaraṃ vā
nisīdanaṃ vā sucigharaṃ vā kāyabandhanaṃ vā apanidheyya
vā apanidhāpeyya vā antamaso hassāpekho pi pācittiyaṃ.

Surāpānavaggo chaṭṭho.

61. Yo pana bhikkhu sañcicca paṇaṃ jīvitaṃ voropeyya
pācittiyaṃ.

62. Yo pana bhikkhu jānaṃ sappāṇakaṃ udakaṃ pari-
bhuñjeyya pācittiyaṃ.

63. Yo pana bhikkhu jānaṃ yathādhammaṃ nihatādhi-
karaṇaṃ punakammāya ukkoṭeyya pācittiyaṃ.

64. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhussa jānaṃ dutṭhullaṃ
āpattiṃ paṭicehādeyya pācittiyaṃ.

65. Yo pana bhikkhu jānaṃ ūnavāsativassaṃ puggalaṃ
upasampādeyya so ca puggalo anupasampanno te ca bhikkhū
gārayhā, idaṃ tasmiṃ pācittiyaṃ.

66. Yo pana bhikkhu jānaṃ theyyasatthena saddhiṃ
saṃvidhāya ekaddhānamaggaṃ paṭipajjeyya antamaso gā-
mantaram pi pācittiyaṃ.

67. Yo pana bhikkhu mātugāmena saddhiṃ saṃvidhāya
ekaddhānamaggaṃ paṭipajjeyya antamaso gāmantaram pi
pācittiyaṃ.

68. Yo pana bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya, tathā'haṃ bhagavatā
dhammaṃ desitaṃ ājānāmi yathā ye ' me antarāyikā dhammā
vuttā bhagavatā te paṭisevato nālaṃ antarāyārāti, so bhikkhu
bhikkhūhi evaṃ assa vacaṇiyo, mā āyasmā evaṃ avaca mā
bhagavantaṃ abbhācikkhi na hi sādhu bhagavato abbhakkhā-
naṃ na ni bhagavā evaṃ vadeyya anekapariyāyena āvuso
antarāyikā vuttā bhagavatā alaṃ ca pana paṭisevato antarā-
yāyāti. Evaṃ ca so bhikkhu bhikkhūhi vuccamāno tath'eva
paggaṇheyya so bhikkhu bhikkhūhi yāvattatiyaṃ samanu-

bhâsitabbo tassa paṭinissaggāya yāvataṭṭhiyaṃ ce samanubhâsiyamāno taṃ paṭinissajeyya icc etaṃ kusalaṃ, no ce paṭinissajeyya pācittiyaṃ.

69. Yo pana bhikkhu jānaṃ tathāvādinā bhikkhunā akatānuddhammena taṃ diṭṭhiṃ appaṭinissatṭhena saddhiṃ sambhuñjeyya vā samvāseyya vā saha vā seyyaṃ kappeyya pācittiyaṃ.

70. Samaṇuddeso pi ce evaṃ vadeyya, tathā'haṃ bhagavatā dhammaṃ desitaṃ ājānāmi yathā ye'me antarāyikā dhammā vuttā bhagavatā te paṭisevato nālaṃ antarāyāyāti, so samaṇuddeso bhikkhūhi evaṃ assa vacanīyo, mā āvuso samaṇuddesa evaṃ avaca mā bhagavantaṃ abbhācikkhi na hi sādhu bhagavato abbhācikkhānaṃ na hi bhagavā evaṃ vadeyya anekapariyāyena āvuso samaṇuddesa antarāyikā vuttā bhagavatā alaṃ ca pana te paṭisevato antarāyāyāti. Evaṃ ca so samaṇuddeso bhikkhūhi vuccamāno tath'eva paggaṇheyya so samaṇuddeso bhikkhūhi evaṃ assa vacanīyo, ajjatagge te āvuso samaṇuddesa na c'eva so bhagavā satthā apadisitabbo yaṃ pi c' aññe samaṇuddesā labhanti bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ dirattatirattaṃ sahaseyyaṃ sā pi te n'atthi, cara pare vinassāti. Yo pana bhikkhu jānaṃ tathā nāsiṃsaṃ samaṇuddesaṃ upalāpeyya vā upaṭṭhāpeyya vā sambhuñjeyya vā saha vā seyyaṃ kappeyya pācittiyaṃ.

Sappānakavaggo sattamo.

71. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhūhi sahadhammikaṃ vuccamāno evaṃ vadeyya, na tāvāhaṃ āvuso etasmiṃ sikkhāpade sikkhissāmi yāva n' aññaṃ bhikkhuṃ vyattaṃ vinaya-dharaṃ paripucchāmi, pācittiyaṃ. Sikkhamānena bhikkhave bhikkhunā aññātabbaṃ paripucchitabbaṃ paripaṇhitabbaṃ, ayaṃ tattha sāmīci.

72. Yo pana bhikkhu pātimokkhe uddissamāne evaṃ vadeyya, kiṃ paṇimehi khuddānukhuddakehi sikkhāpadehi uddiṭṭhehi yāvad eva kukkucāya vihesāya vilekhāya samvattantīti, sikkhāpadavivaṇṇanake pācittiyaṃ.

73. Yo pana bhikkhu anvaddhamāsaṃ pātimokkhe uddissamāne evaṃ vadeyya, idān' eva kho ahaṃ jānāmi ayaṃ pi kira dhammo suttāgato suttapariyāpanno anvaddhamāsaṃ uddesaṃ āgacchatīti, taṃ ce bhikkhuṃ aññe bhikkhū jāne-

yyum, nisinnapubban iminâ bhikkhunâ dvattikkhattum pâtimokkhe uddissamâne kho pana vâdo bhiyyo ti, na ca tassa bhikkhuno aññâtakena mutti atthi yañ ca tattha âpattinî âpanno tañ ca yathâ dhammo kâretabbo uttariñ c'assa moho âropetabbo, tassa te âvuso alâbhâ tassa te dulladdhanî yañ tvañ pâtimokkhe udissamâne na sâdhukam aṭṭhikavâ manasikarositi, idam tasmiñ mohanake pâcittiyam.

74. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhussa kupito anattamano pahâram dadeyya pâcittiyam.

75. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhussa kupito anattamano talasattikam uggireyya pâcittiyam.

76. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhum amûlakena sañghâdisesena anuddhamseyya pâcittiyam.

77. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhussa sañcicca kukkucam upadaheyya, it'ssa muhuttam pi aphâsu bhavissatiti, etad eva paccayam karitvâ anaññam pâcittiyam.

78. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhûnam bhaṇḍanajâtânam kalahajâtânam vivâdâpannânam upassutinî tiṭṭheyya, yañ ime bhañissanti tam sossâmîti, etad eva paccayam karitvâ anaññam pâcittiyam.

79. Yo pana bhikkhu dhammikânânam kammânânam chandam datvâ pacchâ khîyanadhammam âpajjeyya pâcittiyam.

80. Yo pana bhikkhu saṅghe vinicchayakathâya vat-tamânâya chandam adatvâ utthây'âsanâ pakameyya pâcittiyam.

81. Yo pana bhikkhu samaggena saṅghena cîvaram datvâ pacchâ khîyanadhammam âpajjeyya, yathâsanthavam bhikkhû saṅghikam lâbham parinâmentîti, pâcittiyam.

82. Yo pana bhikkhu jânânam saṅghikam lâbham parinâtam puggalassa parinâmeyya pâcittiyam.

Sahadhammikavaggo aṭṭhamo.

83. Yo pana bhikkhu rañño khattiyassa muddhâvasittassa anikkhantarâjake anihataratanake pubbe appatissamvidito indakhilam atikkameyya pâcittiyam.

84. Yo pana bhikkhu ratanam vâ ratanasammatañ vâ aññatra ajjhârâmâ vâ ajjhâvasathâ vâ uggaṇheyya vâ uggaṇhâpeyya vâ pâcittiyam. Ratanam vâ pana bhikkhunâ ratanasammatañ vâ ajjhârâme vâ ajjhâvasathe vâ uggahetvâ vâ

uggahâpetvâ vâ nikkhipitabbam, yassa bhavissati so harissa-tîti, ayañ tattha sâmicî.

85. Yo pana bhikkhu santam bhikkhum anâpucchâ vikâle gâmañ paviseyya aññatra tathârûpâ accâyikâ karañiyâ pâcittiyam.

86. Yo pana bhikkhu aṭṭhimayam vâ dantamayam vâ visânamayam vâ sūcigharam kârâpeyya bhedanakam pâcittiyam.

87. Navam pana bhikkhunâ mañcam vâ piṭham vâ kârāyamānena aṭṭhaṅgulapâdakam kâretabbam sugataṅgulaena aññatra heṭṭhimāya aṭaniyâ,² tam atikkāmayato chedanakam pâcittiyam.

88. Yo pana bhikkhu mañcam vâ piṭham vâ tûlonaddham kârâpeyya uddâlanakam pâcittiyam.

89. Nisîdanam pana bhikkhunâ kârāyamānena pamānikam kâretabbam. Tatr'idam pamānam, dîghaso dve vidatthiyo sugatavidatthiyâ tiriyañ diyaddham dasâ vidatthi, tam atikkāmayato chedanakam pâcittiyam.²

90. Kaṇḍupaṭicchādīm pana bhikkhunâ kârāyamānena pamānikâ kâretabbâ. Tatr'idam pamānam, dîghaso catasso vidatthiyo sugatavidatthiyâ tiriyañ dve vidatthiyo, tam atikkāmayato chedanakam pâcittiyam.

91. Vassikasâṭikam pana bhikkhunâ kârāyamānena pamānikâ kâretabbâ. Tatr'idam pamānam, dîghaso cha vidatthiyo sugatavidatthiyâ tiriyañ adḍhateyyâ, tam atikkāmayato chedanakam pâcittiyam.

92. Yo pana bhikkhu sūgatacīvarappamānam cīvaram kârâpeyya atirekam vâ chedanakam pâcittiyam. Tatr'idam sugatassa sūgatacīvarappamānam, dîghaso nava vidatthiyo sugatavidatthiyâ tiriyañ cha vidatthiyo, idam sugatassa sūgatacīvarappamānam ti.

Ratanavaggo navamo.

Uddiṭṭhâ kho âyasmanto dvenavuti pâcittiyâ dhammâ. Tatth' âyasmante pucchâmi, kacci 'ttha parisuddhâ. Dutiyam pi pucchâmi, kacci 'ttha parisuddhâ. Tatiyañ pi pucchâmi, kacci 'ttha parisuddhâ. Parisuddh' etth' âyasmanto tasmâ tunhî, evam etam dhârayâmi.

Pâcittiyâ niṭṭhitâ.

VIII.—PÂTIDESANIYÂ DHAMMÂ.

Ime kho pan' âyasmanto cattâro pâṭidesaniyâ dhammâ uddesam âgacchanti.

1. Yo pana bhikkhu aññâtikâya bhikkhuniyâ antaragharan pavitthâya hatthato khâdaniyam vâ bhojaniyam vâ sahatthâ paṭiggahetvâ khâdeyya vâ bhuñjeyya vâ paṭidesetabbam tena bhikkhunâ, gârayham âvuso dhammam âpajjim asappâyam pâṭidesaniyam tam pâṭidesemîti.

2. Bhikkhû pan' eva kulesu nimantitâ bhuñjanti tatra ce sâ bhikkhunî vosâsamânarûpâ ʈhitâ hoti, idha sùpam detha idha odanam dethâti, tehi bhikkhûhi sâ bhikkhunî apasâdetabbâ, apasakka tâva bhagini yâva bhikkhû bhuñjantîti. Ekassa ce pi bhikkhuno na ppaṭibhâseyya tam bhikkhunim apasâdetum, apasakka tâva bhagini yâva bhikkhû bhuñjantîti, paṭidesetabbam tehi bhikkhûhi, gârayham âvuso dhammam âpajjimha asappâyam pâṭidesaniyam tam pâṭidesemîti.

3. Yâni kho pana tâni sekhasammatâni kulâni yo pana bhikkhu tathârûpesu sekhasammatesu kulesu pubbe animantito agilâno khâdaniyam vâ bhojaniyam vâ sahatthâ paṭiggahetvâ khâdeyya vâ bhuñjeyya vâ paṭidesetabbam tena bhikkhunâ, gârayham âvuso dhammam âpajjim asappâyam pâṭidesaniyam tam pâṭidesemîti.

4. Yâni kho pana tâni âraññakâni senâsanâni sâsanika-sammatâni sappatibhayâni yo pana bhikkhu tathârûpesu senâsanesu viharanto pubbe appatissamviditam khâdaniyam vâ bhojaniyam vâ ajjhârâme sahatthâ paṭiggahetvâ agilâno khâdeyya vâ bhuñjeyya vâ paṭidesetabbam tena bhikkhunâ, gârayham âvuso dhammam âpajjim asappâyam pâṭidesaniyam tam pâṭidesemîti.

Pâṭidesaniyam nitṭhitam.

Udditṭhâ kho âyasmanto cattâro pâṭidesaniyâ dhammâ. Tatth'âyasmante pucchâmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhâ. Dutiyam pi pucchâmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhâ. Tatiyam pi pucchâmi, kacci'ttha parisuddhâ, parisuddh'etth'âyasmanto tasmâ tunhî, evam etam dhârayâmi.

Pâṭidesaniyâ nitṭhitâ.

IX.—SEKHIYÂ DHAMMÂ.

Ime kho pan'âyasmanto sekhiyâ dhammâ uddesaṃ âgacchanti.

1. Parimaṇḍalaṃ nivâsessaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
2. Parimaṇḍalaṃ pârupissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
3. Supaṭicchanno antaraghare gamissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
4. Supaṭicchanno antaraghare nisîdissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
5. Susaṃvuto antaraghare gamissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
6. Susaṃvuto antaraghare nisîdissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
7. Okkhittacakkhu antaraghare gamissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
8. Okkhittacakkhu antaraghare nisîdissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
9. Na ukkhittakâyaṃ antaraghare gamissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
10. Na ukkhittakâyaṃ antaraghare nisîdissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.

Pathamo vaggo.

11. Na ujjhaggikâya antaraghare gamissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
12. Na ujjhaggikâya antaraghare nisîdissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
13. Appasaddo antaraghare gamissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
14. Appasaddo antaraghare nisîdissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
15. Na kâyappacâlakaṃ antaraghare gamissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
16. Na kâyappacâlakaṃ antaraghare nisîdissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
17. Na bâhuppacâlakaṃ antaraghare gamissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
18. Na bâhuppacâlakaṃ antaraghare nisîdissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.
19. Na sîsappacâlakaṃ antaraghare gamissaṃ sikkhâ karaṇīyâ.

20. Na sisappacâlakam antaraghare nisîdissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

Dutiyo vaggo.

21. Na kkhambhakato antaraghare gamissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

22. Na kkhambhakato antaraghare nisîdissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

23. Na oguṇṭhito^r antaraghare gamissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

24. Na oguṇṭhito antaraghare nisîdissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

25. Na ukkuṭikâya antaraghare gamissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

26. Na pallatthikâya antaraghare nisîdissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

27. Sakkaccam^e piṇḍapâtam paṭiggahessâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

28. Pattasaññî piṇḍapâtam paṭiggahessâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

29. Samasûpakam piṇḍapâtam paṭiggahessâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ:

30. Samatittikam piṇḍapâtam paṭiggahessâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

Tatiyo vaggo.

31. Sakkaccam piṇḍapâtam bhuñjissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

32. Pattasaññî piṇḍapâtam bhuñjissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

33. Sapadânam piṇḍapâtam bhuñjissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

34. Samasûpakam piṇḍapâtam bhuñjissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

35. Na thûpato omadditvâ piṇḍapâtam bhuñjissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

36. Na sūpaṃ vâ byañjanam vâ odanena paṭicehâdessâmiti bhîyyokamyatam upadâya sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

37. Na sūpaṃ vâ odanam vâ agilâno attano atthâya viññâpetvâ bhuñjissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

38. Na ujjhânasaññî paresam pattam olokessâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

39. Nâtimahantam kabalam karissâmiti sikkhâ karaṇiyâ.

40. Parimaṇḍalam ālopaṃ karissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

Catuttho vaggo.

41. Nānāhaṭṭe kabale mukhadvāraṃ vivarissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

42. Na bhuñjamāno sabbam hattham mukhe pakkipissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

43. Na sakabalena mukhena byāharissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

44. Na piṇḍukkhepakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

45. Na kabalāvachedakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

46. Na avagaṇḍakārakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

47. Na hatthaniddhūnakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

48. Na sitthāvakārakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

49. Na jivhānicchārakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

50. Na capucapukārakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

Pañcama vaggo.

51. Na surusurukārakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

52. Na hatthanillehakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

53. Na pattanillehakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

54. Na oṭṭhanillehakam bhuñjissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

55. Na sāmisenā hatthena pāṇiyathālakam paṭiggahessāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

56. Na sasitthakam pattadhovanam antaraghare chaḍḍessāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

57. Na chattapāṇissa agilānassa dhammam desissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

58. Na daṇḍapāṇissa agilānassa dhammam desissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

59. Na satthapāṇissa agilānassa dhammam desissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

60. Na āvudhapāṇissa agilānassa dhammam desissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

Chaṭṭho vaggo.

61. Na pāḍukārūlhassa agilānassa dhammam desissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

62. Na upāhanārūlhassa agilānassa dhammam desissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

63. Na yānagatassa agilānassa dhammam desissāmīti sikkhā karaṇīyā.

64. Na sayanagatassa agilânassa dhammañ desissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

65. Na pallatthikâya nisinnassa agilânassa dhammañ desissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

66. Na vethitasîsassa agilânassa dhammañ desissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

67. Na oguñthitasîsassa agilânassa dhammañ desissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

68. Na chamâya nisîditvâ âsane nisinnassa agilânassa dhammañ desissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

69. Na nîce âsane nisîditvâ uce âsane nisinnassa agilânassa dhammañ desissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

70. Na ðhito nisinnassa agilânassa dhammañ desissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

Sattamo vaggo.

71. Na pacchato gacchanto purato gacchantassa agilânassa dhammañ desissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

72. Na uppathena gacchanto pathena gacchantassa agilânassa dhammañ desissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

73. Na ðhito agilâno uccârañ vâ passâvañ vâ karissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

74. Na harîte agilâno uccârañ vâ passâvañ vâ kheḷañ vâ karissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

75. Na uḍaḷe agilâno uccârañ vâ passâvañ vâ kheḷañ vâ karissâmîti sikkhâ karañiyâ.

Uddiṭṭhâ kho âyasanto sekhîyâ dhammâ. Tatth' âyasman-te pucchâmi, kacci 'ttha parisuddhâ. Dutiyam pi pucchâmi, kacci 'ttha parisuddhâ. Tatiyam pi pucchâmi, kacci 'ttha parisuddhâ. Parisuddh' etth' âyasanto tasmâ tuñhî, evaṃ etañ dhârayâmi.

Sekhiyâ niṭṭhitâ.

X.—ADHIKARANASAMATHÂ DHAMMÂ.

Ime kho pan' âyasanto satta adhikaranasamathâ dhammâ uddesañ âgacchanti.

Uppannuppannânañ adhikaranânañ samathâya vûpasamâya sammukkhâvinayo dâtabbo sativinayo dâtabbo amûlha-

vinayo dâtabbo paṭiññāya kâretabbaṃ yebhuyyasikâ tassapâ-
piyyasikâ tiṇavatthârako ti.

Uddiṭṭhâ kho âyasmanto satta adhikaraṇasamathâ dhammâ.
Tatth' âyasmante pucchâmi, kacci 'ttha parisuddhâ. Dutti-
yam pi pucchâmi, kacci 'ttha parisuddhâ. Tatiyam pi pucchâ-
mi, kacci 'ttha parisuddhâ. Parisuddh' etth' âyasmanto tasmâ
tunhî, evaṃ etaṃ dhârayâmi. Uddiṭṭham kho âyasmanto
nidānaṃ, uddiṭṭhâ cattâro pārâjikâ dhammâ, uddiṭṭhâ terasa
saṅghâdisesâ dhammâ, uddiṭṭhâ dve aniyatâ dhammâ, ud-
diṭṭhâ tiṃsa nisaggiyâ pâcittiyâ dhammâ, uddiṭṭhâ dvenavuti
pâcittiyâ dhammâ, uddiṭṭhâ cattâro pâṭidesaniyâ dhammâ,
uddiṭṭhâ sekhiyâ dhammâ, uddiṭṭhâ satta adhikaraṇasamathâ
dhammâ. Ettakaṃ tassa bhagavato suttâgataṃ suttapari-
yâpannaṃ anvaddhamâsaṃ uddeśaṃ âgacchati tattha sabbe-
h'eva samaggehi sammodamānehi avivadamānehi sikkhitab-
baṃ ti.

Bhikkhupâtimokkhaṃ niṭṭhitam.

[TRANSLATION.]

THE OFFICE OF THE CONFESSION OF PRIESTS.

The priests, in number not less than four, are assembled in the chapter-house (Sinhalese poyagē) on mats laid on the floor, and covered with calico. They sit close together, forming three sides of a square, within the consecrated ground which is marked out by liminary pillars. Two of the number are deputed to officiate. The one who takes the principal part sits at the top, in the middle, on a cushion or seat raised above the others. He is designated below as M.: the other, his junior, is designated as N. M. kneels in front of his seat, looking down the chapter-house. N. kneels, also in the middle, facing M.

I.—THE PUCCHÂVISSAJJANA, OR INTERROGATORIES.

N. Praise be to the blessed one, the holy one, the author of all Truth.

Listen to me, my lord priests, now is the time of the assembly

of priests. I will inquire of the rules of discipline from the Venerable [Sonuttara].

M. Praise be to the blessed one, the holy one, the author of all Truth.

Listen to me, my lord priests, now is the time of the assembly of priests. When interrogated by the Venerable [Saraṇaṅkara] respecting the rules of discipline, I will answer.

N. Sweeping and lamps,
Water and a seat—
For the uposatha
These are said to be necessary.

[N. recites this stanza, and then asks the meaning of it, word by word, as follows:—]

Permit me. What means "sweeping"?

M. Doing the [necessary] sweeping.

N. "And lamps"?

M. The lighting of lamps. Now, as it is daylight, no lamps are necessary.

N. "Water and a seat"?

M. A seat must be provided, and close to it water fit for bathing and drinking. [Note.—No one is allowed to leave his seat during the service, and water is therefore provided for use if any priest faints or is thirsty.]

N. "For the uposatha these are said to be necessary"?

M. These four things, sweeping, etc., must be attended to before the priests assemble to hold the uposatha.

N. Consent and purity, describing the season,
The number of priests, admonition;
For the uposatha these
Are said to be required.

"Consent and purity"?

M. It is necessary to ascertain the concurrence of those priests whose concurrence it is proper to obtain, and their freedom from ecclesiastical censure. To ascertain these points here is not necessary.^a

N. "Describing the season"?

M. Of the three seasons, the cold season, etc., so much has passed, so much remains. Thus they describe the seasons. In our present system there are three seasons; the cold, the hot, and the rainy season.

In this cold season there are eight uposathas;¹ of these eight, one has passed; this is one; six remain.

N. "The number of priests"?

M. In this chapter-house the number of priests assembled is so and so.²

N. "Admonition"?

M. To admonish the nuns is proper; but as there are now no nuns that admonition is omitted here.

N. "For the uposatha these are said to be required"?

M. These five acts, ascertaining the consent, etc., are said to be necessary before reciting the Pâtimokkha when the uposatha is held.

N. When it is uposatha day, when so many priests are assembled,
When there are no offences common to all,
When no one who should be excluded is present,
Then the assembly is said to be formed.

"When it is uposatha day"?

M. Of the three days for holding the uposatha—the fourteenth day, the fifteenth day, and the day of a special meeting—to-day is the uposatha of the fifteenth day.

N. "When so many priests are assembled"?

M. When so many duly qualified priests are met together to keep this uposatha, at least four priests undefiled and not put out of the priesthood by a chapter, the same being seated in a consecrated place, not leaving between one and another a space of two and a half cubits.

N. "When there are no offences common to all"?

M. When there is no guilt common to all, by taking food at forbidden times, or in other ways. [By this is meant that if the whole quorum are guilty of the *same offence*, they cannot hold an uposatha.]

N. "When no one who should be excluded is present"?

M. When there are present no persons whom it is proper to keep at a distance of two and a half cubits, namely, the persons coming under the twenty-one heads of laymen, eunuchs, etc.^b

N. "The assembly is said to be formed"?

M. When priests are assembled, and these four requisites are found to exist, the assembly is said to be formed.

¹ The days of the new and of the full moon.

² It must not be less than four, *vide* the Interrogatory on the following stanza.

Having concluded the preliminaries and pre-requisites, I will recite the Pātimokkha under the sanction of the priests here assembled who have purged their faults by confession and are on friendly terms together.

End of the Pucchāvissajjana, or Interrogatories.

[The two priests who are kneeling here rise up; the junior, N., takes a place at the bottom of one of the sides; the senior, M., takes the raised seat provided for him in the centre, and proceeds to recite the Pātimokkha from memory—no book is used.]

II.—THE NIDĀNA, OR INTRODUCTION.

Praise be to the blessed one, the holy one, the author of all Truth.

Listen to me, my lord priests. To-day is the uposatha of the full moon. Now that the priests are assembled, let them keep the uposatha, let them recite the Pātimokkha. Have the preliminaries required of the priesthood been attended to? Venerable sirs, assure me of your freedom from liability to ecclesiastical censure. I will recite the Pātimokkha.

We all gladly ask you to do so, we are all attention.

If there is a fault in any one, let him declare it. If there is no one guilty of a fault, it is meet to keep silence. Now, Venerable sirs, by your silence I know that you are pure. Now to every separate question there must be an answer. In this way, in such an assembly as this, the question is put three times. If any priest, when asked three times, knowingly omits to declare his fault, it is a deliberate lie. Venerable sirs, a deliberate lie has been declared by Buddha to be an obstacle to the attainment of merit. Therefore every fault must be declared by a priest who has knowingly committed one, if he wishes to be cleansed from it, for to him who makes confession the way is easy. Venerable sirs, the introduction has been recited. Thus I question you, venerable sirs. Are you pure in this matter? A second time I question you. Are you pure in this matter? A third time I question you. Are you pure in this matter? Venerable sirs, thus by your silence I know that you are pure.

The reciting of the Introduction is finished.

III.—THE PÂRÂJIKÂ, OR DEADLY SINS.

Here the four deadly sins come into reading.

1. If any priest whatever, having engaged to live according to the laws of the priesthood, and not having withdrawn therefrom after declaring his weakness [*i.e.* his inability longer to conform thereto], has connexion with any female, even with an animal, he is guilty of a deadly sin, and is expelled from the priesthood.

2. If any priest whatever, in any place, whether inhabited or uninhabited, with dishonest intent, takes anything which is not given to him, provided the theft were such that a king would have him seized as a thief, and either put to death, or thrown into prison, or transported, saying, "Thou art a thief, thou art a fool, thou art an idiot, thou art a robber,"—a priest committing a theft of this kind is assuredly guilty of a deadly offence, and is expelled from the priesthood.

3. If any priest whatever knowingly destroys life in a human body, or if he keeps a deadly weapon by him, or if he sets forth the advantages of death, or if he compasses death by stratagem, saying, "Ho! my friend! what good do you get from this poor wretched life? death is better than your life!"—if, with murderous thought and design, by various devices, he either sets forth the advantages of death, or compasses death, he assuredly is guilty of a deadly sin, and is expelled from the priesthood.

4. If any priest whatever, not knowing of a certainty that he has within him superhuman powers, should give out that he is possessed of the full knowledge of sublime wisdom, saying, "Thus I know, thus I see," and at any time thereafter, whether on being questioned or without being questioned, feeling guilty, and being desirous to be freed from his sin, should say thus,—“Brother, I have said that I know that which I know not, that I see that which I see not, telling a fruitless lie,” unless, indeed, it was from a real belief that he had such powers [*i.e.* being self-deceived], he assuredly is guilty of a deadly sin, and is expelled from the priesthood.

Venerable sirs, the four deadly sins have been recited. Any priest who has fallen into such and such of these receives not communion with holy priests, he is guilty of a deadly sin, is expelled from the priesthood, and is thereafter as he was before he received ordination. I inquire of you, Venerable sirs, concerning them—are you pure in this matter? A second time I inquire, are you pure in this matter? A third time I

inquire, are you pure in this matter? Venerable sirs, you are pure herein; thus by your silence I understand that it is so.

The chapter on the Deadly Sins is finished.

[Venerable sirs, the introduction has been recited; the four deadly sins have been recited. Now there remain to be heard by the Venerable assembly the thirteen Saṅghādisesa faults, the two undetermined offences, the thirty Nissaggiya faults, the ninety-two Pācittiya faults, the four Pāṭidesaniya faults, the rules of conduct, the seven rules for settling questions. So much of the sayings of Buddha as is included in this office comes into reading twice a month. These precepts must be obeyed by all priests, in unity, with gladness, without dispute.]

IV.—SAṄGHĀDISESĀ, OR FAULTS INVOLVING TEMPORARY SEPARATION FROM THE PRIESTHOOD.

Here, Venerable sirs, the thirteen Saṅghādisesa, or faults involving temporary separation from the priesthood, come into reading.

1. The emission of semen, of design, and not in a dream, is a saṅghādisesa offence.

2. If any priest, allowing his thoughts to be perverted, should touch a woman by taking hold of her hand, or her hair, or any other part of her body, it is a saṅghādisesa offence.

3. If any priest, allowing his thoughts to be perverted, should address a woman with lewd words, such as are used by young men and women to excite the passions, it is a saṅghādisesa offence.

4. If any priest, allowing his thoughts to be perverted, goes near to a woman and commends her serving his lusts, saying, "Sister, it will be the highest of ministrations if you serve by this virtuous act a pious, well-conducted, religious man like me,"—if he says this with thoughts of lust, it is a saṅghādisesa offence.

5. If any priest interferes either to procure a husband for a woman or a wife for a man, whether the union be lawful or unlawful, even if it be a harlot, he becomes guilty of a saṅghādisesa offence.

6. If any priest, at his own instance, should get a house built for him, not by the direction of others, for himself to live in, he must have it built of the following dimensions. The length twelve spans of the span of Buddha,^c the breadth inside seven such spans. He must assemble the priests to lay out the site. The site must be laid out by

them so as to do no damage [*i.e.* so as not to destroy white ants' nests or the abodes of other living things], and so as to have a clear space round it sufficient for a cart drawn by a yoke of oxen to pass. If any priest, at his own instance, gets a house built on a site where life will be destroyed, and which has not sufficient space around, or if he fails to assemble the priests to lay out the site, or if he exceeds the limits (named above), he is guilty of a saṅghādisesa offence.

7. If any priest should get a large monastery built under the superintendence of others for himself to live in, he must assemble the priests to lay out the site. The site must be laid out by them so as to do no injury, and so as to have sufficient space around it. If a priest get a large monastery built on a site where life will be destroyed, or where there is not sufficient space around, or if he fail to assemble the priests to lay out the site, he is guilty of a saṅghādisesa offence.

8. If any priest, actuated by feelings of ill-will and hatred, and being dissatisfied, should harass another priest by a false charge of having committed a deadly (pārājika) sin, thinking, "Perhaps I might get him to depart from this life of holiness"—whether at the time or at some other time, and whether the case were investigated or not, whether the case is found to be a trumped-up one, or whether (only) the priest is conscious of his wrong, he is guilty of a saṅghādisesa offence.

9. If a priest, actuated by feelings of ill-will and hatred, and being dissatisfied, should harass another priest with a charge of a deadly sin, based on some trifling fault of another kind, thinking, "Perhaps I might get him to depart from this life of holiness," and whether the case is investigated at that or any other time, or whether it is not investigated, whether the case is found to be of a different kind (from that which it was represented to be), or whether (only) the priest is conscious of the wrong he did in thus taking hold of some trifling fault, he is guilty of a saṅghādisesa offence.

10. If any priest tries to sow division in an assembly of priests, or if he persists in calling attention to some matter calculated to cause division, he must be thus addressed by the other priests—"Sir, do not try to cause division in the assembly of priests;" or, "Sir, do not persist in calling attention to a matter calculated to cause division, be at one with the assembly. The priesthood by being calm, by avoiding disputes, by reciting the Pātimokkha together, is at unity, and leads a life of peace." When he is thus adjured by the other priests, if he

persists in his course, he must be quietly admonished by the other priests three times. When admonished three times to give up his attempt, if he give it up, it is well; if he does not, he is guilty of a saṅghādisesa offence.

11. If one, or two, or three priests become followers of the priest who thus seeks to sow division, and speak words of disunion in these terms—"Sirs, say nothing to that priest, he speaks according to the law, he speaks according to the (commands of Buddha in the) Vinaya, he speaks according to our wish and desire, he knows our views, he has spoken (with us), his proposals are acceptable to us,"—let those priests be thus addressed by the other priests,—“Sirs, say not thus, that priest speaks not according to the law, nor according to the words of Buddha as recorded in the Vinaya. Let not the division of the priesthood be acceptable to you, sirs. Let your (thoughts), Venerable sirs, be at one with those of the assembly. The priesthood by being calm, by avoiding disputes, by reciting the Pātimokkha together, is at unity, and leads a life of peace.” When priests are thus adjured by the others, if they persist, let them be admonished three times. If when thus admonished three times with a view to induce them to desist, they do desist, it is well. If they do not desist, it is a saṅghādisesa offence.

12. If a priest becomes unruly, and, when admonished according to the ordinances of Buddha by the priests who join in the Pātimokkha and follow the precepts of Buddha, takes his own way, saying,—“Sirs, say nothing to me, either good or bad. I will say nothing to you, either good or bad. Sirs, abstain from speaking to me”—let that priest be thus addressed by the other priests,—“Sir, take not your own way. Let him, sir, thus take his proper way. Let him, sir, speak to the priests according to the ordinances of Buddha. The priests speak according to the ordinances of Buddha to the venerable priests. Thus the following of Buddha increases by talk with one another and by mutual assistance.” If that priest, when thus addressed, persists in his course, let him be admonished three times, and when admonished three times to desist, if he desist, it is well: if not, he is guilty of a saṅghādisesa offence.

13. If any priest, who injures the faith of the laity and leads a scandalous life, lives near any village or town, and his faults and manner of life are publicly known and talked about, and if those who are sent astray by him are publicly known and talked about, let him be thus addressed by the other priests,—“Sir, you are an injury to

the faith of the laity, and lead a scandalous life, and your faults and manner of life are publicly known and talked about; sir, leave this monastery, you have dwelt here long enough." When the offending priest is so addressed by the other priests, if he thus replies to them,— "The priests walk in the way of lust, and hatred, and ignorance, and fear, and the like, they send away one and do not send away another,"— let him be thus addressed: "Sir, speak not thus, the priests walk not in the way of lust, nor of hatred, nor of ignorance, nor of fear; sir, you injure the faith of the laity and lead a scandalous life, and your faults and manner of life are publicly known and talked about. Sir, leave this monastery, you have dwelt here long enough." When he is addressed by the others, if he persist in his course, let him be admonished three times, and when enjoined three times to desist, if he desist, it is well: if he do not, he is guilty of a saṅghâdisesa offence.

Venerable sirs, the thirteen saṅghâdisesâ have now been recited. In the case of the first nine a single offence must be dealt with; in the case of the other four the third offence (must be dealt with). If a priest commits any one of these offences, and designedly omits to make confession for one or more days, he must undergo penance for as many days as he has concealed his offence, and he must undergo this further penance after the expiration of the ordinary six days of priestly penance. A priest who has completed his six days of penance must be reinstated by an assembly of twenty priests. If an assembly, short even by one of the number of twenty, should reinstate a priest, that priest is not reinstated, and the priests (who form the incomplete assembly) are guilty. By observing these rules the way to Nirvâṇa is attained. Thus I question you, Venerable sirs. Are you pure in this matter? A second time I inquire, are you pure in this matter? A third time I inquire, are you pure in this matter? Venerable sirs, thus by your silence I know that you are pure.

The reciting of the Saṅghâdisesa is finished.

V.—THE TWO ANIYATÂ DHAMMÂ, OR UNDETERMINED OFFENCES.

Venerable sirs, here the two undetermined offences come into reading.

1. If any priest sits with a woman, one man and one woman, in secret in an inclosed place, on a bed convenient for fornication, and if a pious woman of unblemished character, having seen them together,

says that the offence committed was one of the three classes, either pārājika, or saṅghādisesa, or pācittiya, when the priest confesses his proceedings he must be found guilty [according to circumstances] under one of the three heads, either pārājika, or saṅghādisesa, or pācittiya; or if the pious woman of unblemished character says which of the three it is, the priest must be found guilty accordingly. This is an undetermined offence.

2. Supposing the bed is not in an inclosed place, and is not convenient for fornication, if a priest addresses a woman with lewd words, saying, "This is a good place," and sits with her, one man and one woman, in secret on such a seat, if a pious woman of unblemished character sees them, and says that the offence is of one of two kinds, either saṅghādisesa or pācittiya, when the priest confesses his fault, he must be found guilty of one of two offences, either saṅghādisesa or pācittiya. If the pious woman of unblemished character says it was one of the two, he must be found guilty accordingly. This also is an undetermined offence.

Venerable sirs, the two undetermined offences have been recited. Thus, I will inquire of you, sirs, are you pure in this matter? A second time I ask, are you pure in this matter? A third time I ask, are you pure in this matter? Thus by your silence, Venerable sirs, do I understand that you are pure.

The reciting of the Undetermined Offences is finished.

VI.—THE NISSAGGIYĀ PĀCITTIIYĀ DHAMMĀ, OR FAULTS INVOLVING FORFEITURE.

Here, Venerable sirs, the thirty nissaggiyā pācittiya dhammā, or faults involving forfeiture, come into reading.^d

1. When a set of robes is finished, or when the kāṭhina period has expired,^e a spare robe may be worn by a priest for ten days; if that period is exceeded, it is a nissaggiya fault.

2. When a set of robes is finished, or when the kāṭhina period has expired, if a priest dispenses with his robes for a single night, unless with the permission of the other priests, it is a nissaggiya fault.

3. When a set of robes is finished, or when the kāṭhina period has expired, if material for a robe is given to a priest out of season, he may accept it if he pleases; having accepted it, he must have the robe made quickly; if it should not be sufficient, he may keep it by him for a

month in expectation that the deficiency will be supplied ; if he keeps it by him longer than a month in this expectation, it is a nissaggiya fault.

4. If a priest gets his soiled robe washed, or dyed, or beaten, by a nun who is not related to him, it is a nissaggiya fault.

5. If a priest receives from the hands of a nun who is not related to him a robe, except in exchange, it is a nissaggiya fault.

6. If a priest ask, except on a proper occasion, for a robe from a householder, or a householder's wife, who are not related to him, it is a nissaggiya fault. The proper occasion for such a request is when a priest's robe has been stolen or destroyed.

7. If a householder, or his wife, who are not related to the priest, arrange to supply him when thus situated with many robes, he must accept of them only the lower and the upper robes. If he accept more than this, it is a nissaggiya fault.

8. If money to buy robes is collected for a priest by a householder, or his wife, who are not related to him, with intention of purchasing robes for that priest and presenting them to him, and if that priest goes uninvited to that house and gives directions about the robes, saying, "Sir, buy such and such a robe with the money which has been collected, and present it to me: that will be well." If he says this thinking it will be agreeable to him, it is a nissaggiya fault.

9. If money to buy robes for a priest is collected in separate houses by two householders, or their wives, who are not related to him, with the intention of presenting him with two separate collections, and if that priest goes to their houses uninvited, and gives directions about the robes, saying, "Sirs, it is good to put the two collections into one, to purchase such and such a robe and present it to me." If he says this thinking it will be agreeable to him, it is a nissaggiya fault.

10. If a king, or a king's minister, or a brahman, or a householder, should send, by a messenger, money to buy robes for a priest, saying, "Buy robes with this money and present them to that priest," and if that messenger goes to the priest and says thus, "Lord, this money is brought to buy robes for your reverence; sir, accept the robe-money,"—let that messenger be thus addressed by that priest: "Friend, we do not accept robe-money, we accept robes, presented in the proper manner and at a time when there is need of them." If that messenger thus addresses that priest, "Has your reverence any faithful attendant who supplies your daily needs?"—priests, the attendant, whether a temple

servant or a devotee, may be pointed out by a priest who is in want of robes, saying, "That man, my friend, is the priest's faithful attendant." If the messenger arranges the matter with the attendant, and approaching the priest says thus, "Lord, the matter has been arranged by me with the attendant your reverence pointed out, Sir, go to him when you require robes and make him supply them," priests, when a priest is in want of robes he should go to the attendant and should ask him and remind him twice or thrice, "Friend, I have need of robes." After asking and reminding him twice or thrice, if he should succeed in obtaining the robes, it is well. If he should not succeed, he should keep silence about them [*i.e.* make no complaint asking for the robes] till four times, and five times, and six times only. If after asking for them four times, and five times, and six times only, and making no complaint, if he should succeed in obtaining them, it is well. If he should not succeed, and if he then makes further efforts and at last obtains them, it is a nissaggiya fault. If he should not succeed, he should go himself, or should send a messenger, to the persons by whom the robe-money was sent for him, and should say, "Sirs, did you send some robe-money for a priest? That priest has no need of it. Sirs, take possession of it, do not waste it." By this is the way to Nirvâṇa.

The end of the first section, called the chapter on robes.

11. If a priest has a bed covering made of a mixture of silk and wool, it is a nissaggiya fault.

12. If a priest has a bed covering made of pure black wool, it is a nissaggiya fault.

13. If a priest has occasion to get a new bed cover made, two parts of pure black wool, one part of white wool, and one part of brown wool must be taken. If he has it made of other proportions, it is a nissaggiya fault.

14. When a priest has a new bed cover made, he should use it for six years. If within six years he has another new bed cover made, without the consent of the priests, whether he has given his bed cover away or not, it is a nissaggiya fault.

15. If a priest has a rug made for himself to sit upon, in order to disfigure it he must take a piece from one corner of an old rug to the length of a Buddha's cubit. If a priest, without taking a cubit's length from the corner of an old rug, gets a new rug made for himself to sit upon, it is a nissaggiya fault.

16. If a priest when on a long journey is offered some wool, he may

accept it if he likes, and having accepted it, he may carry it himself a distance of three yojanas only [= 36 miles] if there is no one to carry it for him. If he carries it further without having some one to carry it for him, it is a nissaggiya fault.

17. If a priest has wool washed for him, or dyed, or carded by a nun who is not related to him, it is a nissaggiya fault.

18. If a priest receives, or gets another to receive for him, gold and silver coin, or if he thinks to appropriate money entrusted to him, it is a nissaggiya fault.

19. If a priest makes use of the various kinds of money, it is a nissaggiya fault.

20. If a priest engages in the various kinds of trade, it is a nissaggiya fault.

The end of the second section, or chapter on silk.

21. A spare bowl may be kept for ten days only. To keep it a longer period is a nissaggiya fault.

22. If a priest asks for a new bowl when his bowl is mended in less than five places, it is a nissaggiya fault. He must confess his fault, and produce the new bowl in the midst of an assembly of priests, and if it appears to that assembly that the old bowl was past use, the new bowl must be given to him in these words—"This bowl must be used by you, brother, until it breaks." Thus is the way to Nirvâna attained.

23. What are the medicines which are proper for rich priests to take? Ghee, butter, jinjely and other oils, honey, sugar. They must be kept only for seven days; if they are kept for a longer period, it is a nissaggiya fault.

24. Robes suited for the wet season may be procured by a priest one month before the end of the hot season, and when he has got them ready he may begin to wear them fifteen days before the end of the hot season. If he procures wet-season robes more than one month before the end of the hot season, or if he gets them ready and wears them more than fifteen days before the end of the hot season, it is a nissaggiya fault.

25. If a priest gives his robes to another priest, and afterwards being angry and on bad terms with him, if he takes them away, or if he has them taken away, it is a nissaggiya fault.

26. If a priest should himself ask for yarn and have it made by a weaver into stuff for a robe, it is a nissaggiya fault.

27. If a householder, or a householder's wife, who is not related to

him, has robes made by a weaver for a certain priest, and if that priest, without being invited there, goes to the weaver and gives directions respecting the robes, saying, "Friend, this robe-cloth is being woven for me; make it both long and broad, and thick, and with even web, and with thread of even thickness, and with good size, and smooth it well: if we give you any directions, surely it is good." If the priest speaks thus, and gives anything to the weavers, even a single meal, it is a nissaggiya fault.

28. If a spare robe is offered to a priest ten days before the end of the three months preceding Kattika [*i.e.* between the 5th and the 15th of Wak],¹ it may be accepted by a priest who knows it is a spare robe. Having accepted it, he must put it by till the proper time for receiving robes [*i.e.* the end of the Vassa on the full-moon day in Wak]. If he puts it by for a longer period, it is a nissaggiya fault.

29. After Vassa is completed until the full-moon in Kattika, if an eremite priest, who lives in forest-dwellings which are unsafe and dangerous, being desirous of so doing [for fear of thieves¹], should leave one of his three robes in a village, if he has cause for so doing, in order that he may be free from it, he must be without it for only six days. If he remains without it for a longer period without permission of the priesthood, it is a nissaggiya fault.

30. If a priest designedly gets appropriated to himself anything which it was intended to give to the whole body of the priesthood, it is a nissaggiya fault.

The end of the third section or chapter on the alms-bowl.

Here end, Venerable sirs, the thirty nissaggiya faults. I will ask you concerning them. Are you pure in this matter? A second time I ask you, are you pure in this matter? A third time I ask you, are you pure in this matter? Thus by your silence do I know, sirs, that you are pure herein.

The Nissaggiya Faults are finished.

VII.—THE PĀCITTIIYĀ DHAMMĀ, OR NINETY-TWO SINS REQUIRING CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION.

Here, Venerable sirs, the ninety-two Pācittiya sins come into reading.

1. A deliberate lie is a Pācittiya sin.

¹ This is supplied by the commentary.

2. Abusive language is a Pācittiya sin.
3. Slandering a priest (so as to set one against another) is a Pācittiya sin.
4. If a priest recites the sayings of Buddha, sentence by sentence, with one who is not an ordained priest, it is a Pācittiya sin.
5. If a priest sleeps with one who is not ordained^g for more than two or three nights, it is a Pācittiya sin.
6. If a priest sleeps with a woman, it is a Pācittiya sin.
7. If a priest recites to a woman more than five or six words of the sayings of Buddha, except in the presence of a man who well understands what is said, it is a Pācittiya sin.
8. If a priest announces to one who is not ordained that he has attained to a state of more than human perfection when he is in such state, it is a Pācittiya sin.
9. If a priest, without the permission of the other priests, tells any one who is not ordained of a grave offence committed by a priest, it is a Pācittiya sin.
10. If a priest digs the ground, or causes another to dig it for him, it is a Pācittiya sin.

End of the first section.

11. To cut grass, trees, etc. [in short, to destroy anything of the vegetable world having life, even a blade of grass] is a Pācittiya sin.
12. Prevarication or refusing to answer is a Pācittiya sin.
13. Speaking disrespectfully or openly using disrespectful words is a Pācittiya sin.
14. If a priest puts out, or gets another to put out, into an open place, a bed, or a chair, or a mattress, or a pillow belonging to the priesthood in common, and before he goes if he does not put it back, or get another to put it back, or if he goes away without saying anything to anybody, it is a Pācittiya sin.
15. If a priest makes ready a bed, or has a bed made ready for him, in a monastery belonging to the priesthood in common, and before he goes if he does not roll it up, or cause another to roll it up, or if he goes away without saying anything to anybody, it is a Pācittiya sin.
16. If a priest lies down in a monastery belonging to the priesthood in common, where he knows that he is encroaching^h on the space occupied by a priest who arrived before him, thinking, "It will annoy him, and he will go away,"—if he acts thus, with this object alone, it is a Pācittiya sin.

17. If a priest, being angry or displeased with another priest, sends him away, or causes him to be sent away from a monastery belonging to the priesthood in common, it is a Pācittiya sin.

18. If a priest hurriedly sits or lies down in the upper chamber of a cellⁱ in a monastery common to the priesthood on a bed or seat the legs of which are readily removable, it is a Pācittiya sin.

19. A priest who has a large monastery built for him may have the setting done again and again, in order to make the doors and windows firm; and if he resides in an uncultivated place, he may order the roofing to be repaired twice or thrice. Though he live in an uncultivated place, if he exceeds that limit, it is a Pācittiya sin.^h

20. If a priest sprinkles, or causes another to sprinkle, water having living things in it on grass, or clay, it is a Pācittiya sin [because the life, or living things, in the water will be destroyed].

End of the second section.

21. If a priest, acting without orders from the priesthood, recites the scriptures [*i.e.* the aṭṭhagarudhammā] to nuns, it is a Pācittiya sin.

22. And if, though acting under the orders of the priesthood, he recites the scriptures to nuns after sundown, it is a Pācittiya sin.

23. If a priest goes to a nunnery and recites the scriptures to the nuns, except at the proper time, it is a Pācittiya sin. The time for it is when a nun is sick. This is the time for it.

24. If a priest says that the priests recite the scriptures to the nuns from interested motives [*i.e.* to obtain food, clothes, etc.], it is a Pācittiya sin.

25. If a priest gives a robe to a nun who is not related to him, except by way of exchange, it is a Pācittiya sin.

26. If a priest sews a robe, or gets one sewn, for a nun who is not related to him, it is a Pācittiya sin.

27. If a priest, by appointment, goes a long journey with a nun, in short, if he goes with her from one village to another, except on a proper occasion, it is a Pācittiya sin. A proper occasion is when the road is infested with thieves or the like, or when there is doubt or fear respecting it.

28. If a priest, by appointment, goes with a nun in the same boat either up or down stream, except for the purpose of crossing over to the other side, it is a Pācittiya sin.

29. If a priest, knowingly, eats food procured by the intervention of a nun, except on the previous invitation of a layman, it is a Pācittiya sin.

30. If a priest sits with a nun secretly, one priest and one nun, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

End of the third section.

31. A priest who is not sick may eat food at a place where food is daily distributed for one day; if he exceeds that, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

32. A sin is committed when priests go together in a body [*i.e.* four or more] to receive food, except on a proper occasion. Proper occasions are as follows :—When a priest is sick, when robes are presented, when robes are being made, on a long journey, on going on board a ship, on a special occasion,¹ when a number of priests are invited to receive food. [This rule was made to prevent the priests selecting hospitable houses and going to them in a body, and thus putting the owners to constant and heavy expense.]

33. A sin is committed when a priest takes food in any other order than that in which it is offered to him [*i.e.* if when invited somewhere he first dines at home, or if when invited by a number of persons who put separate portions into his bowl, he picks out this and that, and does not take his food as it comes], except on a proper occasion. Proper occasions are as follows :—When a priest is sick, when robes are presented, when robes are being made. [The reason for the first exception is obvious; the reason for the two other exceptions is that the invitations on these occasions are always public and not private invitations, and consequently a preference shown for any particular portion of food will not hurt the feelings of any individual.]

34. If a priest goes to a house, and any one brings and offers him some sweetmeats and cakes, two or three bowls-full may be accepted by him if he please. If he accept more, it is a Pâcittiya sin. Having accepted two or three bowls-full, and having gone thence, he must share the contents with the other priests. This is the rule for this case.

35. If a priest, after he has finished his portion, takes more food, whether hard or soft,^m which is not part of the leavings of his meal, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

36. If a priest conveys to a priest who has finished his portion some food, whether hard or soft, which is not part of the leavings of his meal, with the deliberate intention of getting him into trouble, saying, "Listen, sir, eat this," a Pâcittiya sin is committed by thus causing him to eat [*lit.* by the eating].

37. If a priest takes food, whether hard or soft, out of the proper time [*i.e.* after the sun has passed the zenith], it is a Pâcittiya sin.

38. If a priest eats food, whether hard or soft, which has been kept over from the previous day, it is a Pācittiya sin.

39. What are the articles of food which are luxuries? Clarified butter, fresh butter, rape oil, honey, sugar, fish, flesh, milk, milk curds. If a priest who is not sick shall ask for such luxuries for himself and partake of them, it is a Pācittiya sin.

40. If a priest puts into his mouth anything which has not been first put into his hand, except water and a tooth-cleaner," it is a Pācittiya sin.

The end of the fourth section.

41. If a priest gives food, whether hard or soft, with his own hand, to a naked ascetic, or to a mendicant devotee, whether male or female, it is a Pācittiya sin.

42. If a priest says to another, "Come, brother, let us go to the village or the town to collect alms," and then, whether after he has caused him to get alms or not, sends him away, saying, "Go, friend, it is not agreeable to me to talk or sit with you; it is agreeable to me to talk and sit alone;"—if he does this for this cause alone [*i.e.*, as explained by the commentary, in order to have conversation with a woman], it is a Pācittiya sin.

43. If a priest enters a house when a man and his wife are in bed together, and sits down there, it is a Pācittiya sin.

44. If a priest sits with a woman secretly on a seat concealed from view, it is a Pācittiya sin.

45. If a priest secretly sits near a woman, one man and one woman, it is a Pācittiya sin.

46. If a priest, being invited [by a layman], and (therefore) having food, should go to a house without taking leave of any priest living (in the monastery), whether before meals [*i.e.* in the forenoon] or after meals [*i.e.* in the afternoon], except on proper occasions, it is a Pācittiya sin. A proper occasion is as follows:—When robes are presented, when robes are being made. This is a proper occasion.

47. A priest who is not sick may receive the evening meal from the same house for the space of four months; if he exceed that period, except on an invitation for another four months, or on an invitation for life, it is a Pācittiya sin.

48. If a priest goes to see an army equipped for war, except for a sufficient cause, it is a Pācittiya sin.

49. If a priest has any necessity to go to the army, he may stay with it for two or three days: if he stays beyond that time, it is a Pācittiya sin.

50. If a priest who stays with an army for two or three days goes to see the fighting going on, or the advanced posts, or the camp, or the (four) hosts [*i.e.* the elephants, the cavalry, the chariots, and the infantry], it is a Pâcittiya sin.

End of the fifth section.

51. The drinking of intoxicating drinks is a Pâcittiya sin.

52. Poking (a priest) with the finger is a Pâcittiya sin.

53. Sporting in the water is a Pâcittiya sin.

54. Disrespect is a Pâcittiya sin.

55. If a priest vexes another priest, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

56. If a priest who is not sick, being desirous to warm himself, lights a fire or has a fire lighted, except for such and such reasons [*i.e.* with some other object than warming himself], it is a Pâcittiya sin.

57. If a priest bathes more than once a fortnight, except at certain times, it is a Pâcittiya sin. The exceptional times are as follows :—The hot weather, namely, the two months and a half made up of the one and a half month at the end of the hot season, and the first month of the wet season; when the body is heated [explained to be in the first month of the cold season, when the days are hot and the nights cold]; when engaged in work [*i.e.* in sweeping the courtyard of the monastery and the like]; when on a long journey; when exposed to a storm of dust and rain. These are the exceptional times.

58. A priest who receives a new robe must mark it in one of three ways, by making part of it turn green, or by smearing part of it with mud, or by making part of it turn black; and if the priest uses the new robe without marking it in one of these three ways, it is a Pâcittiya sin. [Some priests were robbed of their robes; and when their robes were recovered, they could not identify them: hence this rule.]

59. If a priest destines his own robe for a priest, or a nun, or a candidate for holy orders, or a deacon, or a deaconess,^o and without actually giving it to him, continues to wear it, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

60. If any priest hides, or causes another to hide, a priest's bowl, or robe, or the rug on which he sits, or his waistbelt, in short, if he seeks to make fun of him, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

The end of the sixth section.

61. If a priest knowingly deprives any living thing of life, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

62. If a priest knowingly uses water in which there is life [*i.e.* water which has not been strained], it is a Pâcittiya sin.

63. If a priest should knowingly throw doubts on a decision which has been come to in accordance with the laws of Buddha, in order to get a fresh decision, it is a Pācittiya sin.

64. If a priest knowingly conceals a serious offence committed by a priest [*i.e.* any of the thirteen saṅghādisesa offences], it is a Pācittiya sin.

65. If a priest knowingly ordains a man under twenty years of age, both the ordination is void and the priests who took part in the ceremony are blameable. This is a Pācittiya sin on the part of the president of the chapter.

66. If a priest knowingly goes by appointment in company with a thief on a long journey, in short, if he goes the distance from one village to another, it is a Pācittiya sin.

67. If a priest, by appointment, goes a long journey, in short, even the distance from one village to another, in company with a woman, it is a Pācittiya sin.

68. If a priest says thus: "I understand the doctrine preached by Buddha in this wise: if any one is guilty of the sins which have been declared by Buddha to be obstacles (to the attainment of final sanctification), it is not sufficient to prevent his attaining that end," that priest should then be spoken to by the other priests,—“Sir, do not speak thus, bring not an accusation against Buddha, for to bring a groundless charge against Buddha is not proper, for Buddha has not said this. Brother, in various ways those things which are obstacles have been set forth by Buddha. They are fully sufficient to prevent one who stumbles against them (from attaining final sanctification). When that priest is thus spoken to by the other priests, if he persists in his error he must be admonished by the other priests till three times, in order that he may desist from it, and if when admonished till three times he desist, it is well, and if he do not desist, it is a Pācittiya sin.

69. If a priest knowingly eats, or lives, or sleeps with a priest who has thus spoken [*i.e.* as in 68], and has not received just punishment, and has not renounced his heresy, it is a Pācittiya sin.

70. And if a deacon says thus: "I know the doctrine preached by our Blessed Lord to be in this wise—If any one is guilty of the sins declared by our Blessed Lord to be obstacles [to the attainment of final sanctification, it is not sufficient to prevent his attaining that end],” that deacon must be thus spoken to by the priests: “My good deacon, say not so, bring not an accusation against Buddha, for to bring a groundless charge against Buddha is not proper

Buddha says not so; my good deacon, in various ways the obstacles have been set forth by Buddha. They are fully sufficient to prevent one who stumbles against them (from attaining final sanctification).” When that deacon has been thus spoken to by the priests, if he persists in his error, he must be thus addressed: “From this day forth, my good deacon, that Blessed Teacher must not be spoken of by you. The privilege of other deacons to sleep with the priests for two or three nights no longer is yours. Go—you are an outcast—you are expelled.” If any priest speaks with a deacon who has been expelled [*i.e.* if he proposes to ordain him], or gets him ordained, or eats with him, or sleeps with him, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

End of the seventh section.

71. If a priest, when admonished by other priests as to the precepts binding on the priesthood, should say thus:—“Brother, until I can inquire of another priest, full of learning and well versed in the laws of the priesthood, I cannot accept that law,” it is a Pâcittiya sin. Priests, a priest who is desirous of being amenable to discipline should learn, and inquire, and settle in his own mind what is necessary to discipline. Thus is the way.

72. If a priest, at the recital of Pâtimokkha, should say thus:—“What is the use of reciting these minor details of the canonical law? are they for the purpose of causing remorse, and trouble, and doubt?” it is an offence (thus) to discredit the precepts of Buddha.

73. If a priest, at the fortnightly recital of the Pâtimokkha, says thus: “Does not the doctrine which is taken from the Suttas, and contained in the Suttas, come fortnightly into reading? Assuredly now I know it.” And if the other priests know after two or three recitals that it is thus with this priest (they must thus say to themselves): “What means this constant talk? That priest is not yet freed from foolishness.” If he has fallen into sin, he must be dealt with according to the law. Henceforth he must be convicted of foolishness [and they must thus address him]—“Brother, this is a loss to you, this will make it hard for you (to be born again as a human being), if, when the Pâtimokkha is recited, you fail to take it to your heart and carefully attend to it.” This is a Pâcittiya sin which comes of foolishness.

74. If a priest, being angry and displeased with another priest, give him a blow, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

75. If a priest, being angry and displeased with another priest, lifts his hand as if to strike him, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

76. If a priest harasses another priest by an unfounded charge of having committed a saṅghādisesa offence, it is a Pācittiya sin.

77. If a priest knowingly suggests doubts to the mind of another priest with the idea of giving him even a moment's uneasiness [*lit.* thinking there will be to him uneasiness even for a moment], and with that object alone, it is a Pācittiya sin.

78. If a priest stands in a place where he can overhear other priests quarrelling, or making a disturbance, or engaged in a dispute, with the sole object of hearing what they say, it is a Pācittiya sin.

79. If a priest, having given his consent to ecclesiastical proceedings, afterwards raises objections, it is a Pācittiya sin.

80. If a priest, when the priests are assembled for the hearing of a case, leaves his seat and goes away without giving his vote, it is a Pācittiya sin.

81. If a priest, as one of an assembly of priests, has joined in giving a robe to another priest, and afterwards raises objections, saying, "The priests give away to their friends the property of the priesthood," it is a Pācittiya sin.

82. If a priest knowingly gives to an individual priest property that was dedicated to the priesthood, it is a Pācittiya sin.

The end of the eighth section.

83. If a priest crosses the threshold of the palace of an anointed King of Kshatriyan race without first announcing his arrival by inquiring whether the king or his queen are within, it is Pācittiya sin.

84. If a priest picks up, or causes another to pick up, a jewel, or something as valuable as a jewel, except in the garden of the monastery or in the monastery itself, it is a Pācittiya sin. A priest who has picked up, or caused another to pick up, a jewel, or something as valuable as a jewel, must put it by, intending that the owner shall recover it. This is the proper course in such a case.

85. If a priest visits the village at an unusual hour without telling his neighbour [*i.e.* any priest living within twelve cubits of him], except on account of some unexpected necessity, it is a Pācittiya sin.

86. If a priest has a needle case made of bone, or ivory, or horn, the needle case is liable to be broken, and a Pācittiya sin is committed.

87. If a priest have a new bed or seat made, it must have legs of eight inches (of the inches of Buddha) in height—this is exclusive of the depth of the bed frame.² If that is exceeded, the bed should be cut down to the proper height in the case of a bed or chair being

presented to a priest; in the case of his having it made himself, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

88. If any priest has a bed or seat made stuffed with cotton and made tight by string fastened at intervals from top to bottom, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

89. A priest who has a new rug made for him to sit upon must observe the proper dimensions. They are as follows: in length, two spans of the spans of Buddha; in breadth, one span and a half; the fringe, one span; if they be exceeded, the rug should be cut to the proper size in the case of its being presented to a priest; in the case of his having it made himself, it is a Pâcittiya sin.²

90. A priest who has a cloth made to cover the itch must observe the proper dimensions. They are as follows:—The height, four spans of the span of Buddha; the breadth, two spans; if they are exceeded, the cloth should be cut to the proper size in the case of its being presented to him; in the case of his having it made himself, a Pâcittiya sin is committed.

91. A priest who has a robe made for the rainy season must know the proper dimensions. They are as follows:—The length, six spans of the span of Buddha; the breadth, two spans and a half; if they are exceeded, the robe should be cut to the proper size in the case of its being a gift; in the case of the priest having it made, it is a Pâcittiya sin.

92. If a priest has a robe made of the size of the Buddha-robe, or larger, it must be cut down—it is a Pâcittiya sin. The dimensions of the Buddha-robe of Buddha are as follows:—The length, nine spans of the span of Buddha; the breadth, six spans of the span of Buddha. These are the dimensions of the Buddha-robe of Buddha.

End of the ninth section.

Venerable sirs, the ninety-two sins have been read. Herein I inquire of you, Venerable sirs, are ye pure in this matter? A second time I inquire, are ye pure in this matter? A third time I inquire, are ye pure in this matter? Thus, by your silence, do I understand, Venerable sirs, that you are pure in this matter.

End of the Chapter on Pâcittiya sins.

VIII.—PÂTIDESANIYÂ DHAMMÂ, FOUR SINS REQUIRING CONFESSION.

Now, Venerable sirs, the four sins requiring confession come into reading.

1. If any priest takes into his own hand food, whether hard or soft, from the hand of a nun not related to him after her visit to the village for alms is over, and eats it, it must be confessed by him, saying, "Brother, I have committed an offence, deserving of censure, causing sorrow, and requiring confession. I confess it."

2. When priests are invited to laymen's houses, if nuns are there giving orders, such as, give vegetables here, give rice here, those nuns must be put aside by the priests, saying, "Sister, depart till the priests have eaten." And if not even a single priest should speak to put the nun aside, saying, "Sister, depart till the priests have eaten," it must be confessed by those priests, saying, "Brother, we have committed an offence, deserving of censure, causing sorrow, requiring confession. We confess it."

3. If a priest, without invitation and not being sick, receives, in his own hand, from the houses of the pious, food, whether hard or soft, and eats it, it is an offence, and must be confessed by him, saying, "Brother, I have committed an offence, deserving of censure, causing sorrow, and requiring confession. I confess it."

4. If a priest, who lives in a forest hermitage which is unsafe or dangerous, receives in his own hand, at his abode, food, whether hard or soft, of which notice has not been given beforehand [in order that he may give warning of the danger], and not being sick, eats it, he must confess it, saying, "Brother, I have committed an offence, deserving of censure, causing sorrow, requiring confession. I confess it."

Venerable sirs, the four offences requiring confession have been read. Herein, I will inquire of you, Venerable sirs, are ye pure in this matter? A second time I inquire, are ye pure in this matter? A third time I inquire of you, are ye pure in this matter? Thus, Venerable sirs, by your silence I understand that you are pure in this matter.

End of the Chapter on Offences requiring Confession.

IX.—THE RULES OF CONDUCT.

Here, Venerable sirs, the rules of conduct come into reading.

1. I will observe the rule to put on my under robe [the antara-vāsaka], so that it shall hang quite evenly at the bottom [i.e. that I should put on my robe, etc., is a precept to be observed].

2. I will observe the rule to put on my upper robes [the saṅghāṭī and uttarāsaṅga] so that they shall hang quite evenly at the bottom.

3. I will observe the rule to go to the village properly dressed [*i.e.* as in 1 and 2].

4. I will observe the rule to sit down in the village properly dressed.

5. I will observe the rule to go to the village with my senses under proper control.

6. I will observe the rule to sit down in the village with my senses under proper control.

7. I will observe the rule to go to the village with my eyes fixed on the ground. [The practical rule is to look on the ground straight in front only to a distance the length of a plough.]

8. I will observe the rule to sit down in the village with my eyes fixed on the ground.

9. I will observe the rule not to go to the village with my robes pulled up.

10. I will observe the rule not to sit down in the village with my robes pulled up.

End of the first section.

11. I will observe the rule not to go to the village laughing loudly.

12. I will observe the rule not to sit down in the village laughing loudly.

13. I will observe the rule to go to the village in silence [explained in the commentaries to mean not speaking to be heard at a distance of twelve cubits].

14. I will observe the rule to sit down in the village in silence.

15. I will observe the rule not to go to the village swaying my body about.

16. I will observe the rule not to sit down in the village swaying my body about.

17. I will observe the rule not to go to the village swinging my arms.

18. I will observe the rule not to sit down in the village swinging my arms.

19. I will observe the rule not to go to the village nodding my head.

20. I will observe the rule not to sit down in the village nodding my head.

End of the second section.

21. I will observe the rule not to go to the village with my hands on my hips.

22. I will observe the rule not to sit down in the village with my hands on my hips.

23. I will observe the rule not to go to the village with my head covered."

24. I will observe the rule not to sit down in the village with my head covered.

25. I will observe the rule not to go to the village walking on tip-toe.

26. I will observe the rule not to sit down in the village with my arms folded.

27. I will observe the rule to receive alms in a meditative spirit.^s

28. I will observe the rule to receive alms, paying attention to my bowl.

29. I will observe the rule to receive alms with the rice and curries in proper proportions [*i.e.* three parts of rice and one part of vegetables, condiments, etc.].

30. I will observe the rule to receive alms only up to the rim of the bowl.

End of the third section.

31. I will observe the rule to eat the food given me in alms in a meditative spirit.

32. I will observe the rule to eat the food given me in alms, paying attention to my bowl.

33. I will observe the rule to eat the food given me in alms as it comes [beginning at the side nearest me].

34. I will observe the rule to eat the food given me in alms in the proper proportions.

35. I will observe the rule to eat the food given me in alms, beginning at the side [*lit.* not working up the curries and the rice together from the top].

36. I will observe the rule not to conceal the bread and curries with rice, from greediness [*i.e.* so that it may appear that there is nothing but rice, and additional portions of curry, etc., may be given].

37. I will observe the rule, unless I am sick, not to ask for either curries or rice for myself to eat.

38. I will observe the rule not to look enviously at the bowl of another.

39. I will observe the rule not to take large mouthfuls.

40. I will observe the rule to make up my food into small round balls.

End of the fourth section.

41. I will observe the rule not to open my mouth till the food is brought close to my lips.

42. I will observe the rule when eating not to put the whole hand into the mouth.

43. I will observe the rule not to speak with my mouth full.

44. I will observe the rule not to toss the food into my mouth.

45. I will observe the rule not to nibble at the balls of food.

46. I will observe the rule not to eat so as to stuff out my cheeks [*i.e.* like a monkey].

47. I will observe the rule not to shake my head when eating.

48. I will observe the rule not to scatter the rice about when eating.

49. I will observe the rule not to put out my tongue when eating.

50. I will observe the rule not to smack my lips when eating.

End of the fifth section.

51. I will observe the rule not to make a hissing noise when drinking.

52. I will observe the rule not to lick my fingers when eating.

53. I will observe the rule not to lick the bowl when eating.

54. I will observe the rule not to lick my lips when eating.

55. I will observe the rule not to take the water-vessel into my hands when they are soiled with food.

56. I will observe the rule not to throw the rinsings of the bowl mixed with grains of rice into the middle of the house [*i.e.* into the small inner yard formed by the four sides of the rows of cells arranged in a square].

57. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who has an umbrella up, unless he is sick.

58. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who has a staff in his hand, unless he is sick.

59. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who has a sword in his hand, unless he is sick.

60. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who has a lance in his hand, unless he is sick.

End of the sixth section.

61. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who has on slippers, unless he is sick.

62. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who has on sandals, unless he is sick.

63. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who is riding or driving.

64. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who is on a couch, unless he is sick.

65. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who is sitting with his arms folded, unless he is sick.

66. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who has his head covered with a turban, unless he is sick.

67. I will observe the rule not to preach to one who has his head covered with a shawl, unless he is sick.

68. I will observe the rule when I am seated on the ground not to preach to one who is on a chair, unless he is sick.

69. I will observe the rule when I have a low seat not to preach to one who has a high seat, unless he is sick.

70. I will observe the rule not to preach standing to one who is sitting, unless he is sick.

End of the seventh section.

71. I will observe the rule when following behind not to preach to one who is going in front, unless he is sick.

72. I will observe the rule when walking at the edge of the road not to preach to one who takes the middle of the road.

73. I will observe the rule, unless I am sick, not to stand when I make water or ease myself.

74. I will observe the rule, unless I am sick, not to make water or ease myself or spit on a place where grass is growing.

75. I will observe the rule, unless I am sick, not to make water or ease myself or spit in the water.

Venerable sirs, the rules of conduct have now been read. Herein, I will inquire of you, Venerable sirs, are ye pure in this matter? A second time I inquire, are ye pure in this matter? A third time I inquire, are ye pure in this matter? Thus, by your silence, Venerable sirs, I understand that ye are pure in this matter.

The end of the Rules of Conduct.

X.—THE SEVEN RULES FOR SETTling QUESTIONS.

Now, Venerable sirs, the seven rules for settling questions come into reading.

In order to the settlement and decision of cases,—

1. The necessary parties must be present [explained in the Cūla-vagga to be—1. Saṅghasammukho; 2. Dhammasammukho; 3. Vinaya-

sammukho; 4. Puggalasammukho; 1. An assembly of priests: 2. The law; 3. The rules of the priesthood; and 4. The offender].

2. Memory is necessary.

3. The offender must have been in his proper senses at the time of the offence.

4. There must be a distinct adjudication.

5. When the assembled priests are unable to agree, a blameless and fearless priest must be selected by lot to decide the case.

6. His offence must be clearly explained to the offender.

7. As filth is covered with grass, so must a case be settled that it shall not again arise for decision.

Now, Venerable sirs, the seven rules for settling cases have been read. Herein, Venerable sirs, the introduction has been recited, the four deadly sins have been recited, the thirteen offences involving temporary seclusion from the priesthood have been recited, the two undetermined offences have been recited, the thirty offences involving forfeiture have been recited, the ninety-two Pâcittiya offences have been recited, the four offences which require confession have been recited, the rules of conduct have been recited, the seven rules for settling cases have been recited. So much of the extracts from the sayings of the Blessed one and of what is contained in those sayings comes into reading twice a month. It must be obeyed by all in peace, with readiness, without dispute.

The end of the Pâtimokkha for priests.

Notes.

^a Idha n'atthi. All the priests residing within certain limits are required to attend the meeting, but should any one be unable, by reason of sickness or other cause, personally to attend, then his "concurrence in the meeting and freedom from ecclesiastical censure" should be conveyed to the meeting, as a preliminary proceeding or pre-requisite. When all who ought to attend are present, the words chandârahânam bhikkhûnam chandapârisuddhi âharaṇaṇi ca idha n'atthi are repeated, to show that no priest whose "consent and purity" should be ascertained as a pre-requisite is absent

from the meeting. When any one is absent these words are omitted. The following is the note on this subject in *Pālimuttakavinicchaya*:—*Akatuposathena vā gilānena vā kiccapasutena vā pārisuddhi dātabbā. Katham dātabbā? Ekassa bhikkhuno santike pārisuddhim dammi pārisuddhim me hara pārisuddhim me arocehīti. Ayaṃ attho kāyena vā vācāya vā ubhayena vā viññāpetabbo. Evaṃ dinnā hoti pārisuddhi. Tam pana dentena chando pi dātabbo. Vuttam h'etaṃ bhagavatā:—Anujānāmi bhikkhave tadah' uposathe pārisuddhim dentena chandam pi dātum. . . . Tasmā sayam eva sannipatitattṭhānam gantvā ārocetabbam. Sace pana sañcicca n'āroceti dukkataṃ āpajjati. Chandapārisuddhi pana tasmiṃ hatthapāsam upagatamatte yeva āgatā hoti. The pārisuddhi (assurance of freedom from ecclesiastical censure) must be given by him who does not observe the uposatha, or by him who is sick, or by him who is indolent. How is it to be given? Going up to another priest, he must say: "I give the pārisuddhi, accept my pārisuddhi, announce my pārisuddhi." This must be signified personally or by message, or by both. Thus the pārisuddhi is given. By him who gives it chanda (consent to the meeting being held) must be also given. For thus it has been said by Buddha: "Priests, I order him who gives the pārisuddhi on the uposatha day to give also chanda." . . . Therefore going himself to the place of assembly, he must announce it. Then if any one knowingly omits it, he commits a fault. By taking a seat there within the appointed distance, chandapārisuddhi is accomplished.*

^b *Gahaṭṭhapapaṇḍakādayo.* The twenty-one heads are thus enumerated:—1. *Gahaṭṭho.* 2. *Paṇḍako.* 3. *Bhikkhunī.* 4. *Sikkhamāno.* 5. *Sāmaṇero.* 6. *Sāmaṇerī.* 7. *Sikkhāpaccakkhātako.* 8. *Antimavatthujjāpannako* (?). 9. *Āpattiya adasane ukkhittako.* 10. *Āpattiya appaṭikamme ukkhittako.* 11. *Pāpikāya diṭṭhiya appaṭinissagge ukkhittako.* 12. *Theyyasamvāsako.* 13. *Tiṭṭhiyapakkantiko.* 14. *Tiracchānagato.* 15. *Mātughātako.* 16. *Pitughātako.* 17. *Arahantaghātako.* 18. *Bhikkhunidūsako.* 19. *Saṅghabhedako.* 20. *Lohituppādako.* 21. *Ubhatobyañjanako.* 1. Laymen. 2. Eunuchs. 3.

Priestesses. 4. Candidates for ordination. 5. Deacons. 6. Deaconesses. 7. Persons who have renounced the priestly office. 8. Priests who have been guilty of one of the four parâjika. 9. 10. 11. Priests under suspension for (9) concealment of their faults, (10) not taking the proper steps to get absolution, (11) being given to false doctrine and neglect of the duties of a priest. 12. False priests (*i.e.* the self-ordained, deacons who pass themselves off as priests, and priests who throw off and resume their robes at pleasure). 13. Priests who have joined a heretical sect. 14. The brute creation (explained by the commentaries to mean here Nâgas in the form of human beings, who have received ordination by means of this disguise). 15. Matricides. 16. Parricides. 17. Murderers of Rahats. 18. Those who have violated a priestess. 19. Those who cause divisions amongst the priesthood. 20. Those who have wounded a supreme Buddha so as to draw blood. 21. Hermaphrodites.

^o Sugatavidatthiyâ. The span of Buddha is given in the commentary as equal to one and a half carpenter's cubit (Sinhalese vaduriyana) = 4 ft. 6 in., but the priests of the present day in Ceylon take it to be equal to the length of the footprint of Buddha on Adam's Peak and in Siam, which is said to be four cubits = 6 ft.

^a Nissaggiyâ pâcittiya dhammâ. In Mr. Childers's Dictionary it is stated, on the authority of Subhûti, that if a priest has with reference to any article committed a pâcittiya offence, he must surrender that article either to the saṅgha, or to a chapter of two or three priests, or to a high priest.

^e Nitthitacivarasmin. This expression is thus explained in the commentary:—Sûcikammapariyosânenâ vâ nattham vâ vinattham vâ daddham vâ câvarârâva upacchinnâ ti: "After the work relating to the robes has been finished by the completion of their sewing, or by their being lost, destroyed, burnt, or by relinquishing them, or in any other manner," etc. Ubbhataasmim kâthine is explained as follows: yaṁ saṅghassa kâthinam atthataṁ tasmiṁ ca ubbhate, "Is any kâthina set apart for the priesthood, when that too has been broken (*i.e.* the period during which the kâthina was in force had ex-

pired).” To understand this the more clearly, it should be borne in mind that ordinarily a priest can use only “the three robes;” but during the Vassa season, when he expects a *kāṭhina*, he is exempted from the operation of this law, and can, without being guilty of an offence, acquire any number of robes or cloth suitable for robes: the breaking or rooting up of the *kāṭhina* means the expiration of the term during which the privileges of using or acquiring extra robes can be exercised. This period lasts for four, and under certain circumstances five, months. Louis de Zoysa Mudliar points out to me that *cīvara* means not only a robe, but also any cloth suitable for a robe not less than one cubit in length and half a cubit in breadth.

✓ *Kattikatemaṣipunnamaṃ*. The months and seasons are as follows:—

PĀLI.	SINHALESE.	ENGLISH.
1. <i>Citto</i>	Bak	April—May.
2. <i>Vesākho</i>	Wesak	May—June.
3. <i>Jeṭṭho</i>	Pohon	June—July.
4. <i>Āsāḷho</i>	Æhaḷa	July—August.
[Vassa begins on the full moon day of <i>Āsāḷha</i> .]		
5. <i>Sāvaṇo</i>	Nikini	August—September.
6. <i>Poṭṭhapādo</i>	Binnara	September—October.
7. <i>Assayujo</i>	Wak	October—November.
8. <i>Kattiko</i>	Ṭi	November—December.
9. <i>Māgasiro</i>	Unduwak	December—January.
10. <i>Phusso</i>	Durutu	January—February.
11. <i>Māgho</i>	Navam	February—March.
12. <i>Phagguno</i>	Mædim	March—April.

The seasons:—8-12 Hemanta, cold season, from the full moon in *Kattika* (Ṭi) to full moon in *Phagguna* (Mædim).

12-4 *Gimhāna*, hot season, from full moon in *Phagguna* (Mædim) to full moon in *Āsāḷha* (Æhaḷa).

4-8 *Vassāna*, wet season, from full moon in *Āsāḷha* (Æhaḷa) to full moon in *Kattika* (Ṭi).

° *Anupasaṃpanna*. The scriptures are read or recited,

sentence by sentence, by one priest, while another priest expounds them in plain simple language which all the people can understand. If either of these two is not ordained, it is an offence. The rule was laid down, according to the *Pācittipotthaka*, on account of a priest going with a lay devotee to expound the doctrines of Buddha.

² *Anupakhajja* is explained by the commentary *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* on the *Pātimokkha*, to mean encroaching on the place occupied by another priest, by placing a bed, chair, or the like within one cubit and a half of it, or by obstructing a passage (of one cubit and a half in breadth) from the occupied place to the door or out-buildings.

³ *Vehāsakuṭiyā*. The meaning of this word is very doubtful. Apparently the sleeping places were arranged one above another, so that a priest sleeping below was liable to be hurt by anything falling from the upper berth. The meaning of *āhaccapādakaṃ* is also doubtful. The origin of the rule is thus related in the *Pācittipotthaka*. Two monks were living in a monastery belonging to a fraternity, in a cell with an upper story, one of them below, and the other above; the monk who lived above sat down suddenly on a bed with moveable feet. A foot coming off fell on the head of the monk below, who made an outcry. The other monks ran out and were angry, and laid the case before Buddha, who then laid down this rule. *Vehāsakuṭiyā* is explained in the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* commentary to be a two or three storied hut with beams unbroken above; it is also said to be one that will not touch the head of a middle-sized person.

⁴ It is impossible to understand this passage without a knowledge of the occurrence which gave rise to the rule. The minister of the King of Kosamba built a monastery for the priest Channa, who was dissatisfied with it, and had the walls plastered and re-plastered till the plaster would not hold; and the roof thatched and re-thatched till it was too heavy for the walls to bear; and materials collected till they covered a Brahmin's corn land and threw it out of cultivation. Hence this order of Buddha. *Yāva dvārakosā aggaḷaṭṭhapanāya* means in order to make firm the lintel, including

the pin and socket, by which the door is fixed, no hinges being used.

^l Mahâsamayo, on a special occasion. This is explained to mean that when four priests have gone out with their alms-bowls to the neighbouring villages, and failed to obtain sufficient food, they may then join together and go in a body to some rich man's house.

^m Khâdaniyaṃ means dry food, such as bread, biscuits, etc. Bhojaniyaṃ means soft food, such as boiled rice, cooked vegetables, etc. The two verbs used in the text for eating correspond to khâdaniyaṃ and bhojaniyaṃ respectively.

ⁿ Dantaponâ. It is in fact not a brush, but a bit of the roots of certain trees which is used. In Ceylon cinnamon roots, the roots of betel vines, etc., are used as tooth cleaners.

^o Sâmaṇeriâ. The five classes enumerated in § 59 are known as the pañcasahadhammika.

^p Aṭaniâ. Aṭanî is the beam which forms the main part of the frame, and the rounded portion of the leg starts from a square piece about an inch or so below the line of the frame; possibly hetthimâya aṭaniâ means exclusive of the square portion of the leg below the bed frame.

^q Chedanakam. The Pâcittipottthaka says, Aññena pamâṇâ-tikkantaṃ paṭilabbhitvâ chinditvâ paribhuñjati, "He accepts it if made too high by some one else, and cuts it down and uses it."

^r Oguṇṭhito. If a deacon offends against this rule, by tying a handkerchief over his head, or by drawing his robe over it like a cowl, or in any other way, he is disqualified for admission to priest's orders.

^s Sakkaccaṃ. When a priest receives food, he should repeat to himself the following grace, to the repetition of which sakkaccaṃ refers: Paṭisaṅkhâ yoniso piṇḍapâtam paṭisevâmi n'eva davâya na madâya na maṇḍanâya na vibhûsanâya, yâvad eva imassa kâyassa tṭhitiyâ yâpanâya vihiṃsûparatiyâ brahmacariyânuggahâya; iti purâṇaṇi ca vedanaṃ paṭisaṅkhâmi navaṇi ca vedanaṃ na uppâdessâmi, yâtrâ ca me bhavissati anavajjâtâ ca phâsuvihâro câti. "In real wisdom I take my food; not for amusement, not for sensual enjoyment, not that my skin

be soft, not for beauty, only to keep life in this body, for the cessation of the suffering of hunger, and as a help to a holy life; thus I overcome my former pains [*i.e.* the pains of hunger], and give not rise to new [*i.e.* those which come from indulgence of the appetite]. Thus I shall live, I shall be blameless, and my dwelling happy."

This grace is an elaboration of the sentiment expressed in the homely phrase, "eat to live, do not live to eat." As Charles Lamb observes in his *Essays of Elia*, "The proper object of the grace is sustenance, not relishes; daily bread, not delicacies; the means of life, and not the means of pampering the carcass." The Buddhists do not confine the custom of saying grace to dinner; they have a grace for each of the four requisites of a priest. First for robes, for food (as above), for a place of abode and the like, such as beds, chairs, etc., and for medicines and the like. They are as follows:

For robes: *Paṭisaṅkhā yoniso cīvaram paṭisevāmi yāvad eva sītassa paṭighātāya uṇhassa paṭighātāya dāmsamakasa-vātātapasirimsapasamphassānam paṭighātāya yāvad eva hirikopīnapaṭicchādanattham*. "In wisdom I wear my robes, as a protection against cold, as a protection against heat, as a protection against gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sun, and the touch of serpents, and to cover nakedness."

For lodging, etc.: *Paṭisaṅkhā yoniso senāsanam paṭisevāmi yāvad eva sītassa paṭighātāya uṇhassa paṭighātāya dāmsamakasa-vātātapasirimsapasamphassānam paṭighātāya yāvad eva utuparissāya vinodanam paṭisallānārāmattham*. "In wisdom I occupy this abode as a protection against cold, as a protection against heat, as a protection against gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sun, and the touch of serpents, to keep off the inclemency of the seasons, for the sake of seclusion."

For medicines, etc.: *Paṭisaṅkhā yoniso gilānapaccaya-bhesajjaparikkhāram paṭisevāmi yāvad eva uppannānam veyyābādhikānam vedanānam paṭighātāya abhyāpajjhaparamatāyati*. "In wisdom I take medical requisites and drugs, for the cure of sickness and the ills that arise therefrom, to secure the blessing of freedom from suffering."

ART. IV.—*Notes on the Sinhalese Language.* By R. C. CHILDERS, late of the Ceylon Civil Service. No. II.
Proofs of the Sanskritic Origin of Sinhalese.

SINCE I published my first Note on the Sinhalese Language, I have heard that two eminent Orientalists dispute the truth of my conclusions, and still hold to the old view, originating with Rask, that Sinhalese belongs to the Dravidian group of languages. It is true that in my paper I dealt in any detail only with one grammatical form: but if, as I venture to think, I have proved beyond doubt that the Sinhalese neuter plural is formed by compounding the noun with a vocable *val*, which is the Sanskrit *vana* used in the sense of multitude, I have gone far to demonstrate the Sanskritic origin of Sinhalese. But in addition to this I have adduced a great number of Sinhalese nouns, all of which I have traced direct to their Sanskrit equivalents. And it gives me great pleasure to find that so eminent a scholar as Dr. Max Müller has recently expressed himself clearly and unmistakably in favour of my Aryan theory.¹ I am, however, perfectly willing to make allowance for scholars who decline to accept my theory without evidence of a more extended character than I have yet given in its favour, and I propose to continue the publication of these Notes until I have overcome the scepticism of my

¹ In his Address to the first meeting of the Aryan Section of the Oriental Congress of 1874 he said, "More than half the words used by the Veddahs are, like Sinhalese itself, mere corruption of Sanskrit." The correct spelling of the word Veddah is Væddâ (æ pronounced exactly like our *a* in *cat*). Now in composition we find not *væddâ* but *vædi*, e.g. *vædiminissu* "Veddah people," and this form *vædi* is the original one, *væddâ* being one of the curious nominatives with a doubled consonant which I spoke of at p. 12 of my first Note. The termination *â* I shall speak of further on; it is a late grammatical outgrowth, used to distinguish animate from inanimate nouns. The *a* of *vædi* points to an original *a* or *â*, and this brings us to *vyâdhah*, (not *væddhâ* which would give *væda*). The name *Væddâ* therefore strictly means "archer," or "sportsman." Mr. Hartshorne informs me that Væddâ is not only the name given to these savages by the Sinhalese, but is also the name by which they call themselves,—a strong additional proof that the Veddahs are what I have always held them to be, *wild Sinhalese*.

opponents, and established on the widest grammatical basis the Sanskrit origin of the Sinhalese language. Instead of dealing in detail with a single grammatical form, I propose in the present Note to touch briefly upon several different points, and I may as well say at once that it is not part of my plan in these Notes to show that Sinhalese is *not Dravidian*. This has been already done by Mr. James D'Alwis, who, in his paper "On the Origin of the Sinhalese Language" (Journal Ceylon Br. R.A.S. 1867-70), has shown that, whether we compare the vocabulary or the grammar, we find absolutely no resemblance between Sinhalese and the Dravidian languages. To me this course appears superfluous, and my own plan will be to let alone the Dravidian languages, and show that Sinhalese is *Sanskritic*. Of course, however, the proof of the Sanskrit theory carries with it necessarily the disproof of the Dravidian theory.

I may add that the words and forms I have adduced throughout this Note are invariably those which are in universal use in ordinary conversation, even among the illiterate, and I have carefully abstained from instancing forms that could possibly be called literary or artificial.

THE NUMERALS.

The first ten are—1. *eka*. 2. *deka*. 3. *tuna*. 4. *hatara* (sometimes *satara*). 5. *paha*. 6. *saya* or *haya*. 7. *hata* (sometimes *sata*). 8. *aṭa*. 9. *nava* and *nama*. 10. *daha*.

The first requires no comment: it is the Sanskrit *êka* with the *ê* shortened. *Deka* is the S. *dvika*. *Tuna* points to the neut. plural *trīṇi*, in Pali *tiṇi*. *Hatara*, of which *satara* is an older form, is the S. *chatvâras* (Pali *chattâro*), a Sanskrit *ch* passing in Sinhalese into *s*. *Paha* is *pañchan*. *Saya* is the Sanskrit *shash*, Pali *chha*, with the syllable *ya* added to strengthen it. This *ya* is the same that is usually added to *tatsamas* in Sinhalese, of which I hope to speak in a future Note: it is sometimes also added to the numerals *nama* and *daha*, so that Lambrick gives *namaya* and *dahaya* for 9 and 10. In composition the *ya* disappears, e.g. we have *sa-dena*,

“six people,” Pali *chhajanâ*. *Hata* (or *sata*) and *aṭa* require no comment. The form *nama* for the older *nava* (nine) is the usual one, at least in conversation, and is interesting as an example of the interchange of *v* and *m*.¹ *Daha* is S. *daṣan*, and an older form *dasa* is sometimes met with.

The next ten numerals are—

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 11. <i>ekolaha</i> =S. <i>êkâdaṣan</i> . | | |
| 12. <i>dolaha</i> =S. <i>dvâdaṣan</i> . | | |
| 13. <i>dahatuna</i> | } these are formed differently, by com- | |
| 14. <i>dahahatara</i> | | |
| | pounding <i>daha</i> with <i>tuna</i> and <i>hatara</i> . | |
| 15. <i>pahaloha</i> =S. <i>pañchadaṣan</i> . | | |
| 16. <i>dahasaya</i> | } formed like <i>dahatuna</i> . | |
| 17. <i>dahahata</i> | | |
| 18. <i>daha-aṭa</i> | | |
| 19. <i>dahanara</i> or <i>dahanama</i> | | |
| 20. <i>vissa</i> | | |

This last numeral *vissa* is one of those curious secondary forms like *ginna*, *dunna*, etc., explained at p. 12 of my first Note. I propose to call them “reinforced nouns.” As *ginna* points to an older form *gini*, so *vissa* points to an older form *visi* (Pali *vîsa*) which is still used in composition. Instead of the late form for “nineteen,” *dahanara*, we sometimes meet with a more primitive form *ekunvisi*=S. *êkûnavimṣati*.

The next decad is *visi-eka* (21), *visideka* (22), *visituna* (23), and so on. These numerals are dvandva compounds, in which the larger numeral is placed first, instead of last as in Sanskrit. In the same way we say indifferently “one-and-twenty,” or “twenty(and)-one.” Twenty-nine is *ekuntiha*=S. *êkûnatrimṣat*.

Thirty is *tiha*=S. *trimṣat*. Forty *hataliha*=S. *chatvârimṣat*. Fifty *panaha*=S. *pañchâṣat*, Pali *paññaṣa*. Sixty

¹ In Pali we have *Dâmiḷa*=Sansk. *Drâvida*: *bhamu*, “eyebrow,” is perhaps *bhram+u*, but may it not be for a form *bhravu*? *vîmaṃsa* is an instance of dissimilation, not of phonetic change, but the choice of *v* rather than of any other consonant is significant. Mr. Grose, in his article on the Etymology of Local Names in Northern India (Journal As. Soc. Bengal, part i. 1874), says, “*dhîmar* is the recognized literary form of the Sanskrit *dhîvara*, and at the present day villagers generally write *Bhamâni* for *Bhawâni*, though the latter form only is admitted in printed books.”

hæta, S. *shasṭi*, Pali *saṭṭhi*; seventy *hættæ*, or *sættæ*. *Asū* "eighty" is S. *aṣṭi*. *Anu* "ninety" is I think a curious metathesis for *navu* (*navu*, *na-u*, *anu*), representing the Pali *navuti*. *Siya* "a hundred" is regularly corrupted from *ṣata*. The numeral for "a thousand" is *dahasā*, where we should expect *sahasā*=S. *sahasra*. I believe the *d* to be the result of dissimilation. *Sahasra* would first become *sahasā*, then the *s* would, as is almost always the case, pass into *h*; and as *hahasā* is extremely harsh, the *h* was replaced by *d*, the recollection of *dasa* "ten," having a determining influence. Besides *dahasā* a form *dāha*, compressed from *dahaha*, is used in conversation.

The ordinals are—

1st <i>palamuveni</i>	6th <i>haveni</i>
2nd <i>deveni</i>	7th <i>hatveni</i>
3rd <i>tunveni</i>	8th <i>ataveni</i>
4th <i>hataraveni</i>	9th <i>namaveni</i>
5th <i>pasveni</i>	10th <i>dahaveni</i>

and so on. Here we see that the ordinal is formed by compounding a word *veni* with the crude base of the numeral. The only relic of the original Sanskrit ordinals is to be found in *palamuveni* "first." In his grammar D'Alwis says, "The ordinals in the Singhalese are expressed with the addition of *veni* or *veni* to the numerals, except the first, which undergoes a slight change in its formation" (!). Now on analyzing *palamuveni*, we find that it consists of two words, *palamu* and *veni*, compounded together. Originally *palamu* by itself meant "first," and in words like *palamukōṭa* "first time," the simple form still survives. We have no difficulty in identifying *palamu* with S. *prathama*, the Pali *paṭhama* being the link of connexion. *Veni*, I think, must be S. *guṇa*, *g* between two vowels generally passing in Singhalese into *v*. If I am right, *deveni* is equivalent to *dviguṇa*, *ataveni* to *aṣṭaguṇa*, and so on. In later times, when *veni* came to be looked on as a termination giving an ordinal sense, it was thought necessary to add it to *palamu* for the sake of uniformity, and thus we have a curious double ordinal, the ordinal

idea being inherent originally in *palamu*, and conveyed a second time by adding *veni*. It is as if in French the first ordinal was “*premier-ième*.”

ADJECTIVES.

In his grammar D’Alwis says, “Attributives or Adjectives are not inflected in the same manner as substantive nouns, nor do they admit of any distinction of gender.” The Cotta Grammar says, “Adjectives have no change of termination.” In neither case is any attempt made to explain this fact, which however to a Sanskritist offers no difficulty. Let us take as an example *hoṇḍa minihā* “good man.” The first of these words is the S. *sundara*, and the second *manushya*. If we place *hoṇḍa minihā* in the dative, we get *hoṇḍa minihāta*, not *hoṇḍata minihāta*, which would be a solecism. Now in Sanskrit we may either say “*sundarāya manushyāya*,” where both words are inflected, or we may compound them together and inflect the whole word thus, “*sundaramanushyāya*.” A little reflection will show us that in *hoṇḍa minihā*, which should properly be written *hoṇḍaminihāta*, we have really a compound like *sundaramanushyāya*, and that the explanation of adjectives being non-inflected in Sinhalese is, that of the two modes of using adjectives current in Sanskrit, only one has survived in Sinhalese, that of compounding them with the noun. It is true that to a Sinhalese the *consciousness* of *hoṇḍa minihā* being a compound is lost, but this does not affect the fact that etymologically it is one.

PRONOUNS.

The pronoun of the first person is thus declined—

	SING.	PLURAL.
N.	<i>mama</i> .	<i>api</i> .
Instr.	<i>māvisin</i> .	<i>apavisin</i> .
Acc.	<i>mā</i> .	<i>apa</i> .
Dat.	<i>mata</i> .	<i>apata</i> .
Ab.	<i>magen</i> or <i>māgen</i> .	<i>apen</i> or <i>apagen</i> .
Gen.	<i>magé</i> or <i>māgé</i> .	<i>apé</i> or <i>apagé</i> .

In the singular we find that the Sanskrit *aham* has entirely disappeared, its place being supplied by the gen. *mama*, and that for the oblique cases we have a base *ma*, to which the usual case-terminations are added. The acc. *mâ* cannot be identified with the S. acc. *mâm*, it is rather the base *ma* strengthened by lengthening the vowel, as in *mâgen*, *mâgê*.¹ But now the question arises, how comes the Sanskrit genitive *mama* to be used as a nominative in Sinhalese? I think I am able to account for the phenomenon. It owes its origin to the great frequency of the *relative construction*, which supplies in the Sinhalese the place of the lost relative pronouns. Here are examples of relative construction in which the first person occurs. *Mama giya gé* "the house to which I went." *Mama karana deya* "what I am doing." *Mama yana tæn* "the place I am going to." *Mama liyana kal* "when I write." Now the grammarians, native and English, all look upon *giya*, *yana*, and *karana* in these sentences as participles, and *mama* as a nominative, and they would render the sentences, "I having gone house," "I doing thing," and so on. But let us adopt the simple plan of putting them back into Pali, and what do we get? "*Mama gatagêham, mama karanadabbam. mama yānatthānam, mama likhanakālê*,"² a relative construction exceedingly common in Pali, but in which *mama* is a genitive, while the supposed participles turn out to be verbal nouns. In phrases like *mama giya gé*, all consciousness of *mama* being a genitive is lost; it *feels to the speaker*, if I may use such an expression, like a nominative, and from these sentences it has been transferred in a nominative sense to all sentences in which the pronoun of the first person occurs.

The plural pronoun of the first person is *api* "we," a difficult form, about which I feel very uncertain:³ the resemblance to the Hindî *âp* is probably accidental.

For the 2nd person singular we have *tô*, which at present is only used to the lowest castes and to very young children,

¹ In the Kandyan provinces *magê* is pronounced by the lower classes *mayi*, the *g* being softened to *y*, and the *ê* to *i*.

² I have accented the Sanskrit *e* and *o* in order that the reader may not forget that the unaccented *e* and *o* in Sinhalese are short.

³ I look hopefully to Mr. Beames to explain *api*.

and *um̃ba*, which is a familiar address used to inferiors of respectability. The latter answers, I think, to a form *tum(b)hê*, with loss of the initial *t*. *Tô* is declined like *mama* only with a base *ta* instead of *ma*. Thus acc. *tâ*, dat. *tata*, abl. *tagen* or *tâgen*, etc. Strange to say, it has a feminine *ti* on the false analogy of fem. nouns in *i*.

The plural of *tô* is *topi*, where the *pi* is probably due to the false analogy of *api*. *Um̃ba* forms its plural by adding the Sinhalese plural suffix *lâ* (*umbalâ*).

The pronouns of the third person are *û* "he" or "it" = Pali *sô*, used chiefly in speaking of animals; *ohu*, "he," = *esô*, and *ê*, "she," = *sâ*. The oblique cases are formed by adding the usual case-inflexions to the nominative, thus *ûta* "to it," *ohuta* "to him," *êgen* "from her;" *û* and *ê* make their plural by adding *lâ*, while the plural of *ohu* is *ohun*, which in conversation is always pronounced *owun*.

The two Sanskrit demonstrative pronouns, *êtat* and *idam*, are preserved in Sinhalese under the forms *ê* "that," and *mê* "this." The former springs from the oblique cases of *êtat*; the latter from the plural oblique cases of *idam* (Pali *imê*, *imêhi*, *imêsam*, *imêsu*). They are mostly used as if they were indeclinable adjectives, e.g. *mê minihâ* "this man," *mê minihâta* "to this man," *ê goda* "that bank," *ê godaval* "those banks;" but they may also be used absolutely, and receive the inflexions of the noun, as *mêgê* "of this thing," *eyin* (softened from *êgên*) "thereby," *mêta* "to this thing," and they also have a plural form *mê-vâ*, *ê-vâ*, "these things, those things."

There are two other demonstratives, *oya* and *ara*, the former meaning "that far from me but close to you," the latter simply "that far one," as *ara minihâ* "that man over there." *Oya* consists of a base *o* with *ya* added, and I think it may be referred like *û* to S. *sah*, Pali *sô*. *Ara* is perhaps the Pali *ârâ* "far."

There is a reflexive pronoun *tamâ* "self," which points to *âtman* under the Pali form *âtumâ*.

The interrogative "who?" is *kawu-da*, in which *kawu* is the interrogative pronoun, and *da* an interrogative particle.

The oblique cases are formed by adding the inflexions to a base *kâ*, as *kâgê*, *kâta*, etc. The plural is *kawuru*, i.e. a base *ka* with pl. affix *varu*. The interrogative "what? (what thing?)" is *moka-da*. The interrogative "which?" is *mona*, a pronominal adjective applicable to both persons and things. The neut. pl. *monavâ* "which things?" is however used substantively. The interrogatives *moka* and *mona* are really demonstratives (compare *mê*), and require the interrogative particle *da* to complete their interrogative sense.

The Sanskrit *kiyant* appears under the form *kî* "how many?" in which Sinhalese follows the Pali *kîva*.

The Sanskrit pronoun *yad* appears in Sinhalese under the form *yam* "any," and *kaçchid*, *kiñchid*, under the form *kisi* "any." Both are used adjectively and are indeclinable.

PRONOMINAL DERIVATIVES.

Ehi and *mehi*, the locatives of *ê* and *mê*, are used adverbially in the sense of "there" and "here" respectively. In the same way the instrumentals *eyin* and *meyin* mean "thereby" and "hereby."

Some of the pronouns can be compounded with *eka*. Thus we have *êka* "that one" (= *ê eka*), *mêka* "this one," *kôka* "which one?" (= *ko eka*), *ôka* and *araka* "that one." From *yam* we have *yamek* "anybody," and *yamak* "anything," where *ek* and *ak* are the Sanskrit *êka*.

In composition with *pamana*=Sanskrit *pramâṇa*, we have *epamana* and *opamana* "so much," *mepamana* "thus much," *kopamana* "how much?" These are used both adjectively and substantively.

Compounded with *sê* = *chhâyâ* "shadow," and thence "semblance, manner," we get the adverbs *esê* "in that way," *mesê* "thus," *kesê* "how?" *yamsê* and *kisisê* "anyhow." In ordinary conversation these are very frequently pronounced *ehê*, *mehê*, *kehê*. In the Kandyan country one way of saying "yes" is *eheyi*, "it is so" (*etachchhâyâya iti*, "it is after that semblance").

In composition with *tana*=*sthâna* we get *etana* and *otana* "in that place, there," *metana* "here," *kotana* "where?"

With the adverbial affix *dā* we get *edā* "on that day," *kavadā* "what day? when?" (*kava* perhaps=*katara*).

"So much" is *echchara* and *ochchara*; "how much?" *koichchara*. These are abbreviations of older forms, *evichara*, *ovichara*, *kovichara* (*evichara* and *kovichara* are given in Clough), in which the pronominal stems are composed with the tatsama *vichāra* with shortened *ā*.

With *lesa*=Pali *lêsa*, "stratagem," we have *elesa* "so," *melesa* "thus," *kelesa* "how?" (*kêna lêsêna*).

PARTICLES, ADVERBS, ETC.

The Sanskrit particle *iti* survives under the form *yi*, the initial vowel being elided, and the *t* corrupted to *y*. It retains its Sanskrit use at the end of a sentence, and in indirect narration. Thus, *û horayi* "he is a rogue,"=Pali *sô chôrô iti*; *tava cete yi kiyanavā* "he says there are more,"=Pali *tāva atthīti kathēti*. In counting, the Sinhalese add *yi* to the numerals, thus *ekayi*, *dekayi*, *tunayi*, "one, two, three," etc. (*êka iti*, etc.).

"Yes" and "no" in Sinhalese are *owu* and *nê*. The former I believe to be *êvam*, which in Pali is used in the sense of yes. *Nê* speaks for itself; there is also a form *næhæ* which is less familiar.

A negative is generally expressed by *nê*, as *êka hoñda nê* "it is not good," but there are many instances of a negative *na* and *no*, identical with the Sanskrit *na* and *nô*, being prefixed to a word to negative its sense, its vowel being frequently assimilated to the first vowel of the word to which it is prefixed. Thus *puluvan* "able," *nupuluvan* "unable;" *venavā* "to be," *nevenavā* "not to be;" *nepenēnava* "to disappear" (Pali *na paññāyati*); *nadiga* "short" (*na dīrgha*); *gat* "obtained" (*grihīta*), *nogat* "not obtained;" *dænē* "will know" (from *jñā*), *nedenē* "will not know;" *noyek* or *no-æk* "not a few, many" (*nô êka*, corresponding to *anêka*); *nobôdā* "not many days ago, recently"=*nô bahu dā* (*bô* is compressed from *boho*=*bahu*; *no satutu* "discontented,"=*nô santushta*; *nosoñda* "bad,"=*nô sundara*; *næti*=*nâsti*).

"Above" and "below" are *uḍa* and *yaṭa*, answering to the Pali *uddham* and *hēṭṭhā*.

Paçchât appears under the form *pasu* "after." From *pasu* we have the reinforced form *passa*, "subsequent," whence gen. and abl. *passé*, *passen* "after, behind."

In *atara* "between," and *ætula* "within," I think we have differentiated forms of *antare* or *antarena*.

Piṭa "upon, outside," is the Pali *piṭṭhe*.

Samaga "with, together," points to *samâgama* "junction." *Ekka*, with the same meaning, is a derivative of *êka* "one."

Nisâ and *udesâ* "on account of," are the Pali *nissâya* and *uddissa*. *Visin* "by means of," is *vaçêna*. *Bærin* "according to," is *bhâvêna*. *Bægin* "severally," is *bhâgêna*.

"Now" is *dæn*, Pali *dâni*.

"Yesterday" is *iyé*, Pali *hiyô*: "to-day" *ada* = *adyas*; "to-morrow" *heṭa*, in which *he* represents the Pali *svê* and *ta* is the dat. inflexion.

Paṭan "from, since," is the Sanskrit *prasthâna* (comp. the use of *paṭṭhâya* in Pali).

For "much, very," we have *itâ* = *ativâ*, and *boho* = *bahu*.

For "a little" we have *ṭikak* and *madak*; the former is S. *stôka* with the indefinite termination *ak*, and the latter *madhya* in the sense of "a moderate or small quantity," with the same termination.

Some adverbs are the dat. case of a noun or adj., as *hoṇḍata* "well," from *hoṇḍa* "good" (*sundara*), *viḡahaṭa* "quickly," which is *viga* = *vêgha* with the fuller dat. term. *haṭa*.

"Until" is represented by *туру* (or rather *aturu*) and *dakrâ*. The latter is a participle from *dakvanavâ* "to show" (Pali *dakkhâpêti*); while the former represents the Sanskrit *antara*, e.g. *nama enaturu* "until I come," *nama âyanântara*.

Sinhalese is, if I am not mistaken, the only Sanskritic vernacular which has worked out an

INDEFINITE DECLENSION.

It is formed by compounding *eka* with the noun, *eka* being the latter half of the compound, and appending to the whole

compound the usual case-inflexions. I need hardly say that indefinite declension is limited to the singular. I will exhibit side by side the two forms of declension.

DEFINITE DECLENSION.	INDEFINITE DECLENSION.
<i>Minihā</i> "the man."	<i>Minihēk</i> "a man."
Nom. Acc. <i>minihā</i> .	<i>minihēk</i> .
Dat. <i>minihāta</i> .	<i>minihēkuta</i> .
Ab. <i>minihāgen</i> .	<i>minihēkugen</i> .
Gen. <i>minihāgē</i> .	<i>minihēkugē</i> .

Minihēk therefore means properly "one man," but has come to mean "a man," and the consciousness of the numeral *eka* being contained in the word is lost. Hence to express the idea "one man" it has become necessary to prefix *eka*, and so we get *eka minihēk* "one man," where the word *eka* really occurs twice.

But this is not all, for Sinhalese, by taking advantage of certain vowel-changes, has succeeded in differentiating an indefinite declension for animate nouns and an indefinite declension for inanimate nouns, the former ending in *ek*, and the latter in *ak*:—

DEFINITE ANIMATE DECLENSION.	INDEFINITE ANIMATE DECLENSION.
<i>Minihā</i> "the man."	<i>Minihēk</i> "a man."
Nom. Acc. <i>minihā</i> .	<i>minihēk</i> .
Dat. <i>minihāta</i> .	<i>minihēkuta</i> .
Abl. <i>minihāgen</i> .	<i>minihēkugen</i> .
Gen. <i>minihāgē</i> .	<i>minihēkugē</i> .
DEFINITE INANIMATE DECLENSION.	INDEFINITE INANIMATE DECLENSION.
<i>Godā</i> "the bank."	<i>Godak</i> "a bank."
Nom. Acc. <i>godā</i> .	<i>godak</i> .
Dat. <i>godāta</i> .	<i>godakata</i> .
Abl. <i>godān</i> .	<i>godakin</i> .
Gen. <i>godā</i> .	<i>godaka</i> .

By adding *eka* to the indefinite pronoun *yam*, we get *yamek* "anybody," lit. "any one," and *yamak* "anything." But the most remarkable thing is that the numeral *eka* itself can

be similarly treated. Thus, in answer to the question *kidenek* "how many people?" we may reply, *ek* "one," lit. "a one," or etymologically "one one": and in answer to the question, *pot kiyada* "how many books?" we may reply, *ek* "one." All the numerals, being treated as nouns, can take the neuter indefinite termination, as *pahak* "five or a pentad," *dahasak* "a thousand." But *eka* is the only one which can take the animate indefinite termination, and we cannot say *dekek*, *tunek*, but we must say *dedenek*, *tundenek* "two people," "three people," etc.¹ This *denek* is the Sanskrit *jana* with *êka*, and *dedenek* put back into Sanskrit would be *dvijanaika*.² This *denek* is used in speaking of animals as well as men, and we say *balallu tundenek* "three cats," lit. "cats three people"! As *dedenek* is "one person," so *ekkenek* is "one person," and this *kenek* is *denek* with its initial letter assimilated to the *k* of *ek*. Out of this accidental introduction of a form *kenek* has sprung one of the most remarkable cases of differentiation with which I am acquainted in any language.³ A word was wanted to represent the idea of "a person" in our sense, and as soon as *kenek* appeared, it was pounced upon to fill this gap. Thus we say *napura kenek* "a wicked person" (man or woman), and it would be a solecism to say *napura denek*, while it would be equally inaccurate to say *tun kenek*. *Denek* then is used only with numerals (except *eka*), and is applied to all animates, whether men or animals, while *kenek* is used only with adjectives, and is limited in its application to human beings.

GENDER.

I showed in my first Note that there are two declensions in Sinhalese, one for animates and one for inanimates, having

¹ It is worth mentioning here that in speaking of Buddhist priests *namak* is used instead of *denek*, e.g. *unnânsêla tun namak*, lit. "priests three names." This use of *namak* is honorific, and originates in the circumstance that when a man joins the priesthood he changes his name, taking a religious name, such as *Dhammârâma* "Delighting in the Law."

² *Dedenek* is generally compressed to *dennek*.

³ I think the most remarkable I know of is an English one. Such differentiations as *thorough* and *through*, *conduct* and *conduct*, are commonplaces; but I do not think any one has pointed out that when "used" means "employed," it is pronounced *yûz*d, while when it means "accustomed," it is pronounced *yûst*.

different sets of case-terminations. Inanimates have no distinction of gender, the case-inflexions of the original Sanskrit having been almost entirely lost, and their place supplied by suffixes which are really words worn down to a rag. Thus *sañḍa* "the moon," and *pela* "a line," and *isa* "head," are all declined alike, though their originals, *chandraḥ*, *pāli* and *ṣiṣham*, are masculine, feminine, and neuter respectively. But it is different with animates, for though all animates take the same case-inflexions, there is generally some way of distinguishing feminines from masculines in the nominative and base.

Almost all masculine nouns end in *ā*, as *miniḥā* "man," *putā* "son," *gonā* "bullock," and this *ā* is the distinctive termination of animate nouns of the masculine gender. It is however quite modern, and may possibly be a generalization from some masculine nouns ending in *ā*, as *senpā* = *sēnāpāla*, *ratpā* = *raktapāyin* (leech), where the long vowel is radical, and has nothing to do with gender. The old forms are *miniha*, *puta*, *gona* (= Pali *manussa*, *putta*, *gōṇa*), and the lengthening of the *a* is a late addition.

The characteristic termination of feminine animate nouns is *i*, which in Elu is *i*; but the vowel has been lengthened, to form a parallel to the *ā* of masculine animates. Thus we have *radarā* "washerman" (*rajaka*), and *radarī* "washer-woman" (*rajakī*); *kudā* "a hunchback" (*kubja*), fem. *kudī*; *monerā* "peacock," *monerī* "peahen." Sometimes this *i* brings with it interesting euphonic changes in the vowels of the preceding syllables. Thus we have *kukulā* "cock" (*kukkuṭa*), but *kikilī* "hen" (*kukkuṭī*); *ūrā* "hog" (*sūkara*), but *īrī* "sow" (*sūkarī*); *ukunā* "louse," fem. *ikinī* (*uku* is Pali *ūkā*, Sansk. *yūka*, but it is difficult to say whence the *n* is derived); *kukkā* "puppy," fem. *kikkī*. These changes might be attributed to assimilation, but in many cases we get the most beautiful examples of unmistakable *umlaut*. Thus *ballā* "dog," *bællī* "bitch" (*ballā* is a reinforced noun from *balu*, the etymology of which I cannot trace); *vassā* "calf," fem. *væssī* (also a reinforced noun from *vasu* = *vatsa*); *vāñdurā* "ape" (*vānara*), fem. *væñdurī*. The *æ* in these words is

the original German ä (pronounced as in our "cat," "narrow"), and for the vowel-change compare "graf" and "gräfinn" in German. The umlaut of *o* is *e*, thus *kokā* "crane" (Sansk. *kōka*), fem. *kekī*. In two instances the umlaut, which originally was caused by the final *ī*, is used to differentiate the feminine where there is no final *ī*. These are *hera* "female thief," and *kerā* "lame woman." *Horā* "thief" represents the Sanskrit *chōra*, and *hera* represents a form *chōrā*, which in Sinhalese would become *hora*; but to differentiate the feminine, umlaut is adopted from the false analogy of *kekī*. Similarly with *korā* and *kerā* "lame," in Sanskrit *khōra* and *khōrā*. It is as if in German we had "eine gräf" instead of "eine gräfinn."

In a few instances *dena*, Sansk. *dhēnu*, is compounded with the masc. noun to make it a feminine, as *eluvā* "goat" = *ēḍaka*, and *eludena* "she-goat" = *ēḍakadhēnu*. So *mīdena* "buffalo-cow" = *māhishadhēnu*. The Sinhalese for cow is *eladēna*, where we have *dhēnu* with a prefix *ela*, of which I have not yet discovered the origin. In *kaputudēnu* "hen-crow," we have *dhēnu* again, but this time it is a (corrupt) tatsama.

Another feminine termination is *-innī*, which is the Sansk. *inī* reinforced. Thus *yakā* = *yaksha*, fem. *yakinnī* = *yakshinī* (the Elu form is *yakini*); *etā* "elephant" = *hastin*, fem. *etinnī* = *hastinī*; *həpinnī* "female snake" = *sarpinī*. In one instance, *vəlahinnī* "a she-bear," this term. is added by false analogy where etymologically it has no place. "A bear" is *valahā*, in Elu *valasa*, which if divided thus, *val-asa*, is easily seen to be Pali *vana-achchha*, lit. "forest-bear." "Horse" in Sinhalese is *asvayā* or *aspayā*, and "mare" *asvələmba*. The first of these is a (corrupt) tatsama, while the latter contains two elements, first *as*, the true Sinhalese form of *açva*, and secondly *vələmba*, the Sinhalese form of *vaḍavā*. Hence *asvələmba* is literally "horse-mare"!

PREPOSITIONS (UPASARGA).

D'Alwis, in his Essay on the Origin of the Sinhalese Language, says, "If one circumstance more than any other

favours my position that the Sinhalese bears a close affinity to the Sanskrit, and is not allied to the Tamil, it is to be found in the unmistakable identity which may be established between the Sanskrit or Pali and the Sinhalese prepositions, none of which are known to the Tamil, or any other Dravidian dialect, except indeed what may be found in words which may be clearly traced to a Sanskrit origin." Unfortunately the examples which follow are mostly literary words, like *adikarana*, *apadan* (ablative), *pavara*, *anusara*, *abiseka*, which do not belong to the vernacular speech, two or three of them being indeed corrupt tatsamas. That the Sanskrit upasargas, or most of them, can be traced in Sinhalese, is certain, but not quite so easily as Mr. D'Alwis imagines.

Owing to phonetic decay, the upasargas are generally found worn down to a mere fragment, and, with the exception of *prati* and *pari* under the forms *pili* and *piri*, consciousness of their separate existence is lost. The following are examples of genuine Sinhalese vernacular words in which upasargas, or remnants of them, are preserved :—

APA in *varada* "wrong" = *aparādha*.

Â in *añḍunanavā* "to know" from *âjñā*.

Â in *eliya* "light" = *âlôka*.

UPA in *poya* = *upôsatha*.

NIS in *nivaraḍi* "innocent" = *niraparādhin*.

VI in *vikunanavā* "to sell" from *vikrī*.

VI in *vehesa* "fatigue" = Pali *vihêsa*.

NI in *navatinavā* "to stop" from *nivartaya*.

NI in *nisā* "on account of" = Pali *nissāya*.

API in *pilañḍinavā* "to put on ornaments," Pali *pilandhati*.

PRATI in *piligannavā* "to receive" from *pratigrah*.

PRATI in *pilivela* "succession" = Pali *paṭipāṭi*.

PRATI in *puluran* "able, competent" = Pali *paṭibhānin*.

PARI in *pirihenavā* "to waste away," from *parihā*.

SAM in *sapayanavā* "to procure," from *sampādaya*.

SAM in *samaga* "with" = *samāgama*.

PRA in *pamana* "measure" = *pramāṇa*.

PRA in *penenavā* "to appear" (Pali *paññāyati*).

PRA in *pubudinavā* "to wake" (Pali *pabujjhati*).

UT in *ugannavâ* "to learn," from *utgrah*.

UT in *upadinavâ* "to produce," from *utpâdaya*.

UT in *idimenavâ* "to swell," from *uddhmâ*.

ADHI in *irasanavâ* "to bear (as grief)," from Pali *adhivâsêti*.

THE VERB.

This is the most interesting section of Sinhalese grammar. A volume might be written on the wonderful variety of forms which the Sinhalese verb has thrown out to compensate for the loss of the old inflexions, but I shall here only give the merest outline, explaining as far as I am able only a few prominent features.

Let us take the Sinhalese *dhâtu* *kaḍ* "to break," which is the Sanskrit *khaṇḍ*. The most representative form, and one by which the verb is usually quoted, is *kaḍanavâ*, usually called the "indefinite present." It is unvarying, and we say, *mama kaḍanavâ* "I break," *api kaḍanavâ* "we break," *umba kaḍanavâ*, "thou breakest," and so on. This *kaḍanavâ* consists of two parts, *kaḍana* and *vâ*, the latter of which is unknown to Elu and is a later addition with a determinative force. But what is the first part *kaḍana*? Simply the Sanskrit verbal derivative *khaṇḍana* "breaking, fracture," and *mama kaḍana-vâ* "I break" is etymologically speaking "my breaking." The origin of this *vâ* I have not yet ascertained, but if we compare with *mama kaḍanavâ* the phrases *mama kaḍanakal* "when I break" = *mama khaṇḍana-kâlê*, *mama kaḍanabava* "that I break" = *mama khaṇḍana-bhâva*, *mama kaḍanapota* "the book which I break" = *mama khaṇḍanapôthhaka*, we see clearly that *vâ* is the remnant of some word in composition with the preceding *kaḍana*.

If we try the indefinite present of other verbs, we find that almost all point back to the Sanskrit verbal noun in *-na*. Thus "to do" is *karana-vâ*, where we have the Sanskrit *karana* positively unaltered, because there was no room in it for phonetic decay. "To move" is *salanavâ* = *chalana*; "to consider" *salakanavâ* = Pali *sallakkhana*; "to eat" *kanavâ* = *khâdana*; "to bathe" *nânavâ* = *snâna*; "to think"

hitanavâ = chintana; "to contrive" *yodanavâ* = yuñjana; "to kill" *maranavâ* = mârana; "to carry" *daranavâ* = dhâraṇa. So *duvanavâ* "to run" = javana; *bedanavâ* "to divide" = bhedana; *velanavâ* "to wrap" = Pali *vêṭhana*; *palanavâ* "to split" = Pali *phâlana*; *temanavâ* "to wet" = *têmana*; *liyanavâ* "to write" = *likhana*; *kiyanavâ* "to say" = *kathana*; *venavâ* "to be" = *bhavana*; *labanavâ* "to obtain" = *labhana*. These are all of what the grammars call the "first conjugation," retaining the original *ana* of the Sanskrit verbal noun. But there are a great many having *ina* where the Sanskrit has *ana*, as the following examples will show. *Ganinavâ* "to count" = *gaṇana*; *kelinavâ* "to play" = Pali *kîlana*; *siñḍinava* "to cut" = *chhindana*; *biñḍinavâ* "to break" = *bhindana*; *madinavâ* "to rub" = *marjana*; *bañḍinavâ* "to bind" = *bandhana*; *laginavâ* "to stick" = *lagana*; *rakinavâ* "to guard" = *rakshaṇa*; *ihinavâ* "to sprinkle" = *siñchana*; ¹ *gilinavâ* "to swallow" = *gîrana*; *harinavâ* and *arinavâ* "to take away, send, open" = *haraṇa*; *siṭinavâ* "to be, stay" = Pali *saṇṭhâna* = *vañḍinavâ* "to worship" = *vandana*; *vñḍinavâ* "to enjoy" = *vindana*; *vidinavâ* "to shoot" = Pali *vijjhana*. In many of these cases, as *gilinavâ*, *biñḍinavâ*, etc., the change of the *a* to *i* is simply due to assimilation; in others, as *vañḍinavâ*, *bañḍinavâ*, it is difficult to account for it except by false analogy.

Although I have traced the indefinite present to the verbal noun in *-ana*, I think there are exceptional cases, coming under the head of false analogy, in which it is formed from the base of the present by adding *navâ*. I do not, for instance, think that *denavâ* "to give" can be referred to *dâna*; it is rather *dê* of the Pali *dêti* with *navâ* added. Again, *enavâ* "to come" is less likely to be *âyana* than the *ê* of *êti* with added *navâ*, and *yanavâ* "to go" must be *yâ* + *navâ*. *Dakinavâ* "to see" can hardly be from a noun *drakshaṇa*, but must be looked upon as *drakshy* with *navâ*; *ḍinanavâ* "to win" points to the Pali present *jin-âti*, since there is no noun *jinana*. In *gannavâ* "to take" it is possible we have the

¹ *Siñchana*, *sisana*, *sisina*, *hîhina*, *ihina*.

Pali noun *gaṇhana*, but I am inclined rather to look upon it as *gaṇh + nara*. So *dannarā* "to know" is probably not Pali *jānana*, but *jān-narā* and *innarā* "to be, to sit," *sīd-narā*. *Manīnarā* "to measure" seems to point to the Pali *min-āti + narā*.

When we come to the Passive, we find it formed by a beautiful system of vowel-change. Thus *kaḍanavā* "to break," *kæḍenavā* "to be broken;" *kapanavā* "to cut," *kæpenavā* "to be cut;" *upadinavā* "to produce," *ipadenavā* "to be born" (Pali *uppādēti* and *uppajjati*); *adinavā* "to pull," *ædenavā* "to be pulled;" *karanavā* "to make," *kerenavā* "to be made;" *yodanavā* "to join," *yedenavā* "to be joined, to happen." It will be seen from these examples that the *-ana* of the active has been changed to *-ena*, and that this change carries with it umlaut of the vowel of the first syllable of the word,—exactly as in the formation of the feminine of the animate noun, treated of above. But what is the origin of the termination *-ena* of the passive? For an answer to this question we must look to Pali. In Pali we find a strong tendency to reduce all passives to one type ending in *-īyati*.¹ Thus from *kri* we have *kariyati*, where the Sanskrit is *kriyātē*, and so with other roots, *ḍiyati*, *vīyati*, *vyañjīyati*, *vivarīyati*, *ōkirīyati*, *dhārīyati*, *yōjīyati*, *kappīyati*. There are several instances in Pali, as *khīyana* from *khīyati*, of nouns in *-ana* derived from these passives, and it is to these nouns that we must refer the Sinhalese passives in *-ena*. Thus *kædena-vā* points to a noun *khaṇḍīyana* "being broken," from a passive *khaṇḍīyati* (which would be the regular Pali passive from *khaṇḍ*). The *e* of *kædenavā* represents, by a common phonetic change, the *î* of *khaṇḍīyana*, and the change from *a* to *æ* in the first syllable is umlaut due to the following *î*. A good many verbs with an intransitive signification have only this passive form. Thus *ælenavā* "to adhere," representing a form *âlīyana* from S. *âlīyātē*; *vætenavā* "to fall," which I think points to a form *vattīyana* from *vrit*; *pæhenavā* "to ripen" =

¹ From the false analogy of forms like *cīyate*, *kshīyate*, *dhīyate*, where the long *ī* is correct.

pachîyana (in Pali we have pachîyati); *pîrenavâ* "to fill, be filled," pointing to a form pûrîyana from caus. prî. Sometimes through false analogy we get the passive form in *-ena* where the original has no î, as in *vædenavâ* "to grow" = Pali vaddhati; *idenavâ* "to ripen" = Pali ijjhati; *kîpenavâ* "to be provoked" = Pali kuppati; *pipenavâ* "to blossom" = Pali pupphati; *penenavâ* "to appear" = Pali paññâyati; *idimenavâ* "to swell" = Pali uddhumâyati; *ridenavâ* "to ache" = rujati. In spite of much nonsense that has been written on the subject, these forms in *-ena* are true passives syntactically, and I have shown that etymologically they are passives also: their use, however, has to a great extent been supplanted by passives formed with auxiliary verbs.

We now pass to the Causative. As *kaḍana-vâ* is "to break," so *kaḍavana-vâ* is "to cause to break." Thus the causative is obtained by changing the termination *ana* to *avana*. What is the origin of the inserted *va*? D'Alwis contents himself with saying that "the *aya* of the Sanskrit is changed into *ava* in Sinhalese," unmindful of the fact that already in Pali the Sanskrit *aya* has almost universally been contracted to ê. The Cotta grammar invents a verb *vanavâ* "to come," and divides *kaḍavanavâ* into *kaḍa* and *vanavâ* "to cause breaking"! At p. 46 will be found the following passage:— "*Vanavâ*, to cause, is not used alone, but is added to verbs, as has been seen, to form the causative voice: its involitive form *venavâ*, to cause oneself to be, to become, to be, is of frequent use." Now *venavâ* is simply the Sanskrit bhû (bhavana), and *vanavâ* has no existence whatever. To trace the true origin of the Sinhalese causative, we must again have recourse to Pali, in which we find an enormously extended use of the causative termination *-payati*. This termination in Sanskrit is confined to a few roots, but in Pali there is scarcely a root which by false analogy will not take the lengthened causative termination. Thus we have *kârâpêti* by the side of *kârêti*, *bandhâpêti* by the side of *bandhêti*, and so on in innumerable cases; and in some instances the larger form has entirely superseded the shorter, e.g. *okirâpêti* is the only Pali causative from *avakrî*. Now when we

remember that a p between two vowels passes in Sinhalese into v, it is easy to see that *kaḍavana-vā* points to a form *khaṇḍāpana*; that *karavana-vā* "to cause to make" points to a form *kārāpana*, which actually occurs at Dhammapada p. 250; that *navana-vā* "to create" points to *māpana* from *māpēti*; and that *yavana-vā* "to cause to go, to send," points to *yāpana*, which occurs in both Sanskrit and Pali. Already in Pali we find the beginnings of this change of p to v, see my Dictionary under *Posāvanam*, *Ubbillāvitattam*.

The infinitive appears under the form *kaḍannata*, *kaḍanata*, *kaḍanta*, *kaḍanda*, all of which are the verbal noun in -ana in the dative case. *Kaḍanta* "to break" means therefore literally "to breaking." The older form *kaḍannata* is assimilated from *kaḍana-hata* (*kaḍana-hata*, *kaḍanhata*, *kaḍannata*). *Kaḍanta* is a contraction of the somewhat obsolete *kaḍanata*=*kaḍana* with the shorter dative suffix *t*.¹ *Kaḍanda*, again, is a corruption of *kaḍanta*: these two forms are the vernacular ones, the former being chiefly used in the hill country, and the latter in the low country.

There are two participles, present and past. Examples of the former are *kaḍamin* "breaking," *ganimin* "taking," *liyamin* "writing." D'Alwis has rightly identified this participle with the Sanskrit *ātmane* participle in -māna: the above would therefore be in Pali *khaṇḍayamāna*, *gaṇhamāna*, *likhamāna*. The past active participle originates in various ways. The following are examples: *avita* "having come" (attributed to the verb *enevā*)=Pali *āgantvā*; *dāna* "having known"=*jāniya*. *Daka* "having seen," represents a possible Pali form *dakkhiya*. *Gos* and *gohin* and *gihin* "having gone"=*gachchhat*; *iṇḍa* "having sat"=*sīdat*; *bī* "having drunk"=*pītvā*; *aran* "having taken"=*harat*; *kara* "having done"=Pali *kāriya*; *kota* "having done"=*kṛtvā*. Some of these participles are difficult to identify; thus the origin of *kaḍā* "having broken," *dā* "having given," and some others, is by no means clear, and requires more research than I have as

¹ With regard to the dative termination, Mr. Davids suggests its having originated in *atthāya* (*arthāya*). This accounts for the *ta*, but by no means for the *h* of *hata*, which cannot possibly be ignored.

yet been able to devote to them. Most of the past active participles have a lengthened form in *lā*, as *indalā*, *karalā* (but not *kotalā*), *kaddālā*, *dilā*, and so on. In at least one instance, *velā* "having been or become," the lengthened form is the only one used.

I now come to the Sinhalese preterite, a most important and widely used form. As *mama kaḍana-vā* means "I break," so *mama kaḍu-vā* means "I broke." In *kaḍuvā*, as in *kaḍinavā*, the termination *-vā* is a determinative addition, and disappears in the relative construction, e.g. *mama kaḍu pota* "the book which I broke." Now what is this *kaḍu*? Let us turn "the book which I broke" into Pali, and we get *mama khaṇḍitapōtthakaṃ*. Comparing the two sentences, the suspicion at once suggests itself that *kaḍu* is *khaṇḍita*; but the suspicion ripens into conviction when we find that in innumerable instances the preterite points in the most unmistakable manner to a Sanskrit participle of the perfect passive. Thus from *dakinavā* "to see" (*drakshy*), we have the preterite *duṭṭu*, pointing as clearly as possible to Sanskrit *drishṭa* and Pali *diṭṭha*. Again, the (substituted) preterite of *yanavā* "to go" is *giya* "gone,"¹ which is the phonetic equivalent of *gata*. Similarly from *enavā* "to come," we have the substituted preterite *ā* "come," which is all that remains of *āgata*. From *gannavā* "to take," we have *gat* = Pali *gahita*; from *denavā* "to give," we have *dun* = Pali *dinna*; from *bonavā* "to drink," *bī* = *pīta*; from *karanavā* "to make," *kala* = *kṛita* (the link is the Pali by-form *kaṭa*); from *siṭinavā* "to stand," *siṭiya* = Pali *saṇṭhita*.

¹ As a specimen of the way in which Sinhalese philology has hitherto been treated I will quote a passage from D'Alwis' Essay on the Origin of the Sinhalese Language (Journal Ceylon Branch R.A.S. 1867, p. 71):—"The Past Tense. Here I may allude to what Dr. Stevenson has pointed out, under this head, as an analogy which pervades all the Dravidian and the North Indian dialects, viz. that the past tense of the verb is marked by affixes and not prefixes, as in the Sanskrit. The Sinhalese is not without a prefix to form the past tense, as *yami* "I go," and *gi-yo-mi* "I went" (!!); but I admit that the Sinhalese verb generally accords with the Dravidian in the peculiarity noticed by Dr. Stevenson. This admission, however, does not militate, etc. etc." *Giye* is *giya* with a termination *mi*, which is the Sanskrit *-āmi* of the first person singular of the present tense, added on the false analogy of *yami*, *keremi*, etc., and belongs to the root *gam*, and not *yā*. *Giya* is regularly corrupted from *gata*, compare *siya* = *ṣata*, *liya* = *latā*, etc.

From *innavā* "to sit, to be," we have the preterite *un*, which points to a form *sinna* for *sanna* (owing to the influence of the *i* in *sīdati*), as *dun* points to *dinna*. But in the great majority of verbs the preterite ends in *u* or *ū*, and there is generally umlaut of the vowel of one or more of the preceding syllables. Thus *kæḍu* "broke," from *kāḍanavā*, *tæbu* "put," from *tabanavā*, *kiyū* "said," from *kiyanavā*, *sæperu* from *sapayanavā*, *æteru* from *aṭavanavā*, *vægiru* from *vaguranavā*, *tænū* from *tananavā*, *hædu* from *hadanavā*, *iḍuru* from *uduranavā*, *hêḍu* from *hōḍanavā*, *eseru* from *osavanavā*, *vælakū* from *valakanavā*, *æminu* from *amunanavā*, *æhurū* from *ahuranavā*, *iturū* or *itirū* from *uturanavā*. Now it will be found that in the last set the corresponding Pali forms are participles in *-ita*, while in the first set they are not, thus *kæḍu*=*khaṇḍita*, *kiyū*=*kathita*, *sæperu*=*sampāḍita*, *tæbu*=*ṭhapita*, *hædu*=*sādhita*, *eseru*=*ussāpita*,—and here lies the secret of the umlaut. For *u* represents the termination *-ita*, and the umlaut is due to the previous influence of the *i*. In one instance, *kæ*=*khāḍita*, the termination is entirely lost, though the umlaut indicates that it was originally there.¹

Almost all the grammars say that the passive voice is often expressed by the active form. Chater (p. 132) gives the following examples, *bohodenek vyaghrayanvisin*² *kæḍā* "many persons were devoured by tigers," *deviyanvahansevisin lōkaya mævuvā* "the world was created by God," *bohovēyamen ē væḍa kalā* "that work was done with great labour." On the hap-hazard system of Sinhalese etymology which has always been the prevalent one, this phenomenon is inexplicable; but if we put back these sentences into Pali, we get *bahujanō vyagghānam vasēna khāḍitō*, *dēvavasēna lōkō māpitō*, *bahuvāyāmēna etaṃ vattāṃ katam*; and it becomes

¹ We have seen in this Note three cases of the vowel *i* in a termination carrying umlaut with it: 1st, the feminine termination *ī*; 2nd, the passive termination in *-iyati*; and now the termination *-ita* of the participle of the perfect passive. It is interesting to compare *ā* "came"=āgata with *kæ* "ate"=khāḍita. In each case (as often happens when a long vowel is exceptionally retained) two final syllables are dropped, but only the syllables containing an *i* leave umlaut behind them.

² *Vyagghra* is a tatsama, the Elu form is *vaga*. *Lōkaya* is also a tatsama.

clear that we have here a reversion to the original passive sense of the preterite.

The preterite of the passive is very interesting. The participle of the perfect passive, having been used up for the active, was not available, and accordingly a curious form has arisen, due entirely to false analogy. I pointed out that the passive present, *kædenavâ*, is distinguished from the active practically by vowel-change only, and in the passive preterite we have an attempt to imitate this by changing the vowels of the passive present. Thus, *kædenavâ* "is broken," preterite *kæḍunâ* "was broken;" *æsenavâ* "is heard," *æsunâ* "was heard," and so on. The vowel-change is modelled on the active preterite, that is, the *e* of *kædenavâ* is changed to *u* and the *a* of the previous vowel to *æ*; but in this case the vowel-change has no etymological significance, but is purely the result of false analogy.

I now take leave of the verb, not because I have nothing more to say about it, but because time fails me, and I must bring this Note to a close. Innumerable points yet remain to be noticed, among the most important of which are the auxiliary verbs and forms retaining fragments of Sanskrit inflexions, as *keremi* = Pali *karômi*, *vemi* = *bhavâmi*, *veyi* = *bhavati*, *keret* or *kereti* = *karônti*. I may perhaps some day find an opportunity of returning to the subject.

At the end of his chapter on the Sinhalese language in the *Reise der Oesterreichischen Fregatte Novara* (Linguistischer Theil, p. 218), Dr. Friedrich Müller has the following remarks: "Die Verbindung der einzelnen Satzglieder unter einander im Elu mahnt ganz an jene der Drâvîdasprachen und der ural-altaischen; sie ist von jener der indo-germanischen gänzlich verschieden. Dort wo wir kurze Sätze an einander fügen, werden dieselben mittelst Participialbindungen verbunden; das bestimmte Zeitwort tritt dabei an's Ende der Periode. Der Genitiv und überhaupt alle abhängigen Casus treten jenen Formen, zu welchen sie gehören, vor; die Partikeln werden an jene Wörter, auf die sie sich beziehen, angefügt; das was wir Präposition nennen ist hier Postposition." He then gives in illustration of this view an

extract from the 45th chapter of the Sinhalese Genesis, which I reproduce just as he has given it (only omitting the lines in the Sinhalese character):—

<i>Ekala</i>	<i>Yôsæp</i>	<i>tamâ</i>	<i>samaga</i>	<i>siti</i>	<i>siyallan</i>	<i>idiriye</i>	<i>tavat</i>
Dann	Joseph	sich selbst	mit	seiend	allen	vor	mehr
<i>ivasanda</i>	<i>bæruva</i>	<i>siyalu</i>	<i>minisun</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>laṅgin</i>		
zu ertragen	nicht in Stande	seiend	alle	Menschen	mir	von	
<i>ahakkaravayi</i>	<i>kuyâ</i>	<i>ohu</i>	<i>samaga</i>	<i>kisi</i>	<i>kenek</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>siti</i>
bringt weg	sagend ihm	mit	Jemand	irgend	nicht	seiend	
<i>kala</i>	<i>sahôdarayanṭa</i> ¹	<i>tamâ</i>	<i>aṇḍunvâdî</i>				
als (zeit)	den Brüdern	sich selbst	erkennen	gebend			
<i>mahatkoṭa</i>	<i>aṇḍunvâya</i>	<i>Misaravarunṭat</i>	<i>Phârâvôge</i>				
sehr	er weinte	den Aegyptern	Pharao's				
<i>gedaravâsinṭat</i>	<i>êka</i>	<i>æsunḍya</i>					
Haus-Bewohnern und	dieses	ward	gehört				

I shall make no attempt to refute this eminent author's theory otherwise than by merely putting the passage back word for word into Pali, when the reader will be able to judge whether the construction of Sinhalese sentences is "wholly different from that of the Indo-Germanic languages," or whether it really recalls that of "the Dravidian and Ural-Altaic languages." I shall not disturb the order of a single word, but (of course) replace Sinhalese inflexions by Pali ones:—

Etakkâle Yosep âtumâno samâgame saṇṭhitasakalânani avidûre tâva ca adhivâsetum bhâriyabhûto, "sakalamanusse mama laggâ² asattain³ kârâpethâti" kathetvâ, etassa samâgame kassaci janekassa no saṇṭhitakâle, sahodarayânani âtumâno âjânâpanadine, mahantakkhattum kandi.⁴ Misarakârânañ ca Phârâvassa gehadâruvâsînañ ca etadekamî âsûyi.

¹ Sahôdara and vâsin are Sanskrit tatsamas.

² Mama laggâ, from my presence, lit. from my adhesion or union. *Laṅgin* is Sanskrit lagnena, the Sansk. instr. term. having (as I have shown) become the Sinhalese abl. termination: *mâlaṅgin* is a compound like Sanskrit mādriṇa.

³ I take *ahak* as *asakta* "detached."

⁴ The etymology of *aṇḍinavâ* "to weep," is doubtful.

[TRANSLATION]

At that time Joseph being-in-difficulty to bear any longer in the neighbourhood of all who were in his conjunction, having said, "Cause-to-be-detached all men from my union," at the time when no one single person remained in his company, on the occasion of making himself known to his brothers great-wise wept. By the Egyptians and the dwellers under the house-roof of Pharaoh this one was heard.

[OR MORE FREELY]

Then Joseph, unable to bear up any longer before all who were in his presence, having said, "Dismiss all men from my presence," when no one was left in his company wept greatly in making himself known to his brothers. It (the weeping) was heard by the Egyptians and the dwellers in Pharaoh's house.



JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. V.—*An Account of the Island of Bali.*

By R. FRIEDERICH.

[Dr. Friederich's valuable paper was originally published in vols. xxii. and xxiii. of the 'Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap' (1849-50), under the title 'Voorloopig Verslag van het Eiland Bali.' Part of it (pp. 157-195 of the present Volume) was translated for Dr. Logan, and published in the 'Journal of the Indian Archipelago,' vol. iii. pp. 119-137, 235-250, whence it is here reproduced in a thoroughly revised form. The remaining and by far larger portion appears now for the first time in English; the translation having been made by Mr. A. H. May, at the suggestion and expense of Major-General Sir George le Grand Jacob, C.B., K.C.S.I. — Ed.]

INTRODUCTION.

I MUST request the indulgence of friendly readers for the following paper on Bali. Not having prepared myself for this labour on Bali itself, I had not the means of collecting and properly arranging all my materials. I could only use for this purpose a small portion of the valuable manuscripts of the priests which were placed at my disposal. I could not avail myself of the information of the natives as to many points, and I was deprived of a great part of my manuscripts. These circumstances will, perhaps, in some degree excuse the many deficiencies, best known to the writer, of this preliminary account. I have divided this work into three divisions—1st, language and literature; 2nd, religion, worship and cremation; 3rd, castes and royal races. With this is given a short description of the Balinese Calendar.

In the *Tijdschrift voor Neerlandsch-Indie* 9.3.340, an explanation from the Sanskrit is given of the name Bali in the paper "*Usana Bali*:"—subsequently the title of a work, *Bali Sangraha*, became known to the writer. This work,

which however appears no longer to exist, was presented by a pandita to one of the princes of Bali. The name is explained thus,—*Bali* = *wis'esâ*, *sangraha* = *kumpulan*. Following the Indian manner of composition, where the word, which must be taken to be in the oblique case, is placed before that in the nominative, it is to be explained thus,—*The gathering of the excellent* (the heroes). With this the Sanskrit *sangraha* entirely agrees. Bali is then not to be considered as “offering,” but as the nominative of the theme *balin*, a strong person, powerful, a hero. The name *Bali* signifies, thus, a hero, and the name of the country given in Usana-Bali, *Bali Angka*, “the lap (birthplace) of heroes,” is a very beautiful denomination of the holy land, and one which expresses the bold spirit of the nation.

Crawfurd and Raffles first drew attention to the great importance of Bali in a religious and scientific respect. After their time little progress was made towards a knowledge of the island, and thus the Balinese (from their wanting that courtesy which the Javanese exhibit, which however only shows their submissive character) have been considered as a rude uncivilized people, from whose knowledge not much was to be expected. It cannot, indeed, be said, that the *whole population of Bali*, in arts (wherein they clearly are behind) or in science, stand above the Javanese, but the priests bring before our eye the stage at which the Javanese stood before the introduction of Muhammedanism. They are, also, the only remaining preservers of the old literature and religion. To them must every one repair who desires the elucidation of the Kawi. They are the expounders of all laws and institutions; and of the knowledge of antiquity they have scarcely lost or forgotten anything from their faithful adherence to traditions.

Should circumstances permit, I hope, after some time, to follow up this preliminary account by an extended work on this remarkable island.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The language of Bali, like that of Java, is divided into a High and a Low, the first being spoken by the lower to the higher orders, and the last by the higher to the lower. The *High Language* is nearly pure Javanese, but it does not entirely agree with the present High Javanese. It possesses many words which now belong to the Low Tongue of Java, while other High Javanese words cannot be used in it without giving offence. It is thus easy for a Javanese to understand the High Language of Bali, but he is not able to speak it with purity. The Low Tongue, on the other hand, has very little in common with the Javanese, and it agrees more with the Malayan and Sundanese, so that it is easily learned by men from western Java. This language is that of the original inhabitants of Bali before the arrival of the Javanese. It has naturally undergone some changes, but, in general, we find in it a rude Polynesian dialect, which, in the recognized relationship of all these languages, agrees most with the least polished dialects, the Sundanese and original Malay; while it is far behind, and greatly differs from, the polished language of Java, which, in the course of more than a thousand years, has been brought to its present refinement. On Bali, four hundred years ago there were yet savages or half savages without a finely elaborated language. The same we may suppose to have been the case with the Malays before the reception of Muhammedanism, and with the Sundanese before the kingdom of Pajajaran came into existence. From this alone, that is, from the original relationship between all the languages from Sumatra to Bali and further to the east, which has been only distinctly preserved where the people have remained in a lower stage of civilization, we may explain the agreement between the Low Balinese tongue and the Sundanese and Malayan; an immigration of Sundanese or Malays into Bali is not at all to be thought of. The Javanese conquerors found this language the prevailing one on Bali, and could not expel it, and, for this reason in particular, that the population of Bali

was very numerous, and was brought under subjection more by the greater civilization of the Javanese than by the force of arms. The Javanese conquerors preserved as a high language the Javanese which they brought with them; for their intercourse with the people of the land they had to learn the original Polynesian tongue, which alone was spoken by the former, and which, to this day, has a wider prevalence on Bali than the low language on Java. It is still exceedingly difficult for a common man to express himself intelligibly in the high language; and to speak to each rank of a higher or lower degree with full conformity to the laws of politeness, is an accomplishment which many even of the young princes have not attained. The agreement between the Balinese and the Sundanese does not confine itself to words alone. Both have also only 18 letters, while the Javanese possess 20; these 18 were as much as the Polynesian organs originally required; the second *d* and *t* are properly foreign to these languages, and the distinct pronunciation which the Javanese give to them is not easily discriminated by the ear. Notwithstanding, these characters, as well as the capital letters, exist in the writing of the Balinese, but are only used to express the corresponding Sanskrit characters *t* (cerebral) and *d* or *dh*, in the same manner as the *aksara murda* or *g'de*, the capital letters of Cornets de Groot. Further, the Sundanese and Balinese agree in preserving the pure pronunciation of the vowel *a* in all cases, where the Javanese corrupt it to *o* (*â*). The *a* is also in these languages, as in the Sanskrit, of far greater range and predominance than the other vowels. The only degeneration is to *pepet è*, and this may also be considered less as a short *è* than a short ejaculated *d*, which is commonly used with a nasal sound following it (*m* or *n* and *ng*).

The language of Java must originally have possessed a closer relationship to the Balinese. This we conclude principally from the appearance of Malay, and also (according to Humboldt, vol. i. p. 198) of Tagala words, in the Kawi. At the period when the Kawi formed itself, the Javanese language could not yet have been so refined as it might

have been if it had been formed in the course of ages in civilized Hindu states. The Malay words of the Kawi, which do not exhibit themselves in the present Javanese, are original Polynesian, and reveal to us the union which once existed between the languages of Sumatra, Western and Eastern Java, Bali, and probably all the Eastern islands, and which, chiefly, in the Eastern or proper Java alone has been obscured by a higher civilization. The influence of the polished Javanese has also, it is true, made itself felt in the Sunda territories, but the high language of those parts is far less developed than that of Java; it probably first began with the establishment of the kingdom of Pajajaran; as on Bali with the arrival of the Javanese. On the last the division into castes operated most, which rendered necessary a subordination in the manner of speaking also. By the Javanese, however, the language must have been rendered so complicated, since it was developed by them during more than a thousand years. A further knowledge of the languages East of Bali will probably still more confirm this position: *the languages of all these islands are dialects differing little from each other, which have departed the less from the original parent the less and the later the people have received Hindu civilization.* Besides the spoken languages, we have on Bali the written language; this is in poems, with the exception of the more recent, the *Kawi*, and in the sacred writings of the priests, the Sanskrit.

Humboldt (vol. i. pp. 188-203) has written best on the origin of the Kawi language. Some modifications however in the conclusions of Humboldt must be introduced by the fact that pure Sanskrit writings are still found with the priests on Bali.

Kawi is explained by Humboldt to be "poetical language" (*Kawi* "a poet," *kāwya* "a poem"). With this explanation that of the Balinese agrees; they say that *Kawin* or *Kakawin* signifies "to make comparisons," "to speak in comparisons." This is the mode in which poetry is formed; comparisons are the ornaments and marks of poetry. The explanation of the Javanese by *Khawi* (strong) scarcely needs to be

mentioned. Khawi is an Arabic word; first known in Java in the Muhammedan era, and in Bali not at all. How could the Arabs have given the name to a language which they neither produced nor cultivated, but, on the contrary, have nearly destroyed, because it was the prop of Hinduism and of all the institutions on Java which the Arabs sought to overthrow and cast into oblivion? The Arabs and their followers have succeeded so well, that the Kawi no longer exists on Java, and Kawi works have nearly disappeared, while it has been abundantly and carefully preserved on Bali. The verb *kawin* or *kakawin* has caused the works to which that name is applied by the Balinese to be regarded as marriage poems, because it reminds us of the Malay *kawin* (to marry). Both words, the Balinese and the Malayan, appear to be referable to the same Sanskrit word. From *kawya* by the suffixing of the Polynesian *an*, *kawyan* is formed; this, by the contraction of *ya* to *e* commonly (however improperly) used in Java, gives *kawen*; and from this, by a careless pronunciation with the common permutation of *e* and *i*, are formed *kawin* and *kakawin*. This is then at once the Balinese word for "poetry" and the Malay for "to marry," because the marriage songs (*hymenaea*) form a principal part of the festivity, and that which most strikes the ear. Respecting the origin of the Kawi language, it would seem that some new ideas must be kept in view. The priests did not hold the Kawi but the Sanskrit as the sacred language; this language is still found on Bali in the Vedas, the Brahman-dapurâna and other mystic writings or *tuturs* [that is Sansk. *tantra*.—Ed.]. We cannot therefore agree with Crawfurd, who considered that the Kawi was the language of the priests (Crawf. Arch. vol. ii. pp. 17, 18).

The Hindus, and particularly the Hindu-Brahmans who came to Java, brought with them the Sanskrit in their sacred writings, and, perhaps, also a Prakrit dialect. That they knew and could speak a Prakrit dialect may be concluded from the comparatively late period of their arrival from India, which we place at the highest 500 years after Christ; at that time, however, the Sanskrit had been at least

800 years a dead language in India. On the other hand, against the idea, that they spoke Prakrit, pleads strongly the fact that we do not find a single Prakrit word in the Polynesian languages, that none of the assimilations, contractions and elisions which characterize the Prakrit appear in the Indian words of the Kawi; but it is this very fact which points the way to an explanation of the origin of the Kawi.

In the Sanskrit words on Java and Bali we find corruptions, which have not originated in an Indian mode. To this class belong the contraction of *wa* to *o*, *ya* to *e*, the indistinct pronunciation, and the permutation thence arising, of *u* and *o*, of *i* and *e*; further the permutation of *ra* and *re* (*kèrrèt*, formerly recognized by me as *ri-vocalis*), which however, as well as the preceding corruptions, never appear in good Balinese manuscripts. To this class belong also the corruption of the prefix *pra* into *par* and *per*; the omission of the initial *a* in Sanskrit words, for example *nugraha* for *anugraha*, which are interchanged with the non-significant initial letter *a* of Javanese verbs. The pronunciation of Anusvâra as *ng*, e.g. in *ong*, should not be ascribed to a corruption; as this pronunciation appears to stand nearest to the unsettled sound of the Indian letter. The change of the Indian *w* to *b* in *Byasa*, *Balmiki*, *Baruna*, is to be considered less as a corruption than as an accommodation of the Sanskrit idiom for the preservation of the vocalic pronunciation. I, therefore, believe that the few changes in Sanskrit words have had their origin in Java, and that not a single Prakrit word has been introduced into the language of that island.

Thus the Hindu immigrants into Java, though they certainly spoke the Prakrit, as we must presume if we consider the time of their arrival, appear to have abandoned that language at once and adopted the dialect of the country. The reason for this must be sought in the circumstance of the Hindus arriving but in small numbers and finding a large population of natives; further, in their being partly Buddhists, the adherents of which creed always adopted the manners and language of the nation to be converted, in the different countries into which they came. By the Buddhists

the devotees of Brahma were likewise compelled to yield with regard to language, in order not to irritate the people whom they wished to subject to their own worship and institutions, and to give thereby full play to the Buddhists. Thus Buddhists and Brahmans lived together in Java on peaceful terms, and the worship of each became not indeed blended with, but augmented and modified by the dogmas of the other. We have noticed this already on an earlier occasion when viewing the ruins of Prambanan and Boro Budo; in the course of this account more distinct proofs will be given of this hypothesis in different places. The Kawi works are written partly by Sivaites, partly by Buddhists; both use the same dialect, and the works of both are held in high regard by the people, though the Siva Brahmans of Bali appear to entertain a predilection for the genuine Sivaitish works.

Those friendly relations appear to be one of the chief causes of the existence of the Kawi language. The introduction of a foreign language was not practicable on account of the Buddhists, and because the original population of Java was too large; still the necessity was felt of augmenting the dialect of the country in order to express, in the tracts written for the people, ideas relating to worship and science, for which no terms were then existing. In this way the people became accustomed to a number of Sanskrit words employed by their instructors in religion, and by gradually introducing more and more foreign words, a distinct language was formed, destined exclusively for writings and teaching. This language could not of course adopt the inflexion of the Sanskrit, for, in order to understand it, the people would have had to be made acquainted with the entire Sanskrit grammar, which would have been too troublesome for a nation like the Javanese to acquire, and moreover the imparting of it was not for the interest of the priests, whose secret writings, containing unadulterated Sanskrit forms, remained unintelligible for the rest of the people.

The fact that the Buddhists formed the Kawi without the

introduction of words from the Prakrit, seems also to prove that their secret writings were in Sanskrit. In Ceylon and the further Indian Peninsula the books of the Buddhists were composed in Pali (a dialect of the Prakrit); but, in China and Tibet, in Sanskrit; the promulgation took place earlier in the northern parts than in those towards the south, and, for this reason, the books were still written in the ancient sacred language of all India. If, therefore, the Buddhists brought their books to Java composed in the Sanskrit language, their introduction must have been in a comparatively ancient time. It has been observed already that this newly formed dialect was chiefly intended for the converted people, while the priests preserved in the Sanskrit the religious books used by them alone (the Vedas), and whatever they wished to keep secret from the people (Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and the Tuturs).

The Kawi contained all those works by which the religious ideas and the cherished mythology of the priests were communicated to the people. It thus became a sacred language to the people, and the holiness attached itself to all the words, principally however to the Sanskrit, which were rendered conspicuous by capital letters (the *aksara g'de* or *murda*). For the priests of Bali this language is that of pleasure; they always use it for their poetical compositions; almost every one of them composes a poem of greater or less extent, which is communicated to their colleagues and scholars. But the Kawi is not sacred to them; they greatly distinguish between *Kawi* and *Sloka*. *Sloka* is the usual Epic measure of India, in which, in Bali, the *Mantras* (secret writings) and also the *Vedas* are written. The name *Sanskreta*, as significative of the language, is unknown in Bali. It is not even of a very old date in India, having come into use to contradistinguish it from the *Prakreta*, the vulgar language. *Sloka* (the measure used in the Epic poems of India) is used at present in Bali as the denomination of the works composed in that measure, the language of which is Sanskrit. Those are sacred and must be kept hidden from the people (*rahasya*). The Kawi

has various epochs; in the opinion of the Balinese there are three principal ones, viz.:

1.—The epoch of *Ayer Langgia*; in the compositions of his age, according to the Siva Brahmans, the Kawi appears in the most beautiful and oldest form. He reigned in *Kediri*, and was one of the ancestors of *Jayabaya*. In his time the worship of Siva seems to have been predominant.

2.—The epoch of *Jayabaya*; of his time is the *Barata Yudda*, less esteemed than, for instance, the *Wiwâha*, and indeed of a more recent style, also many works of Buddhist authors. His period cannot be ascertained from the Balinese records; according to them he reigned in *Barata Warsa* (India), but this is the India transferred by the *Barata Yudda* into Java. His period would appear to comprise the reigns of several rulers, since so many works are ascribed to him.

3.—The epoch of *Majapahit*, where we meet with still greater admixtures of the vulgar language, and less acquaintance with the riches of the Sanskrit. This period is succeeded by a fourth one, formed by the continued poetical compositions of the priests and of some princes in Bali. These, at least the priests, have preserved the knowledge of the Kawi, and even augmented it by new Sanskrit expressions, which they take from the secret writings. From this we are inclined to trace their immigration into Bali, and the large stock of knowledge they are still in possession of, to another part of Java, perhaps *Kediri*, and not to *Majapahit*. The tale of Siva Brahmans having come to *Majapahit* from India shortly before the destruction of that empire is altogether unknown in Bali. How is it, moreover, possible that those Brahmans should have acquired so speedily the knowledge of the Kawi and of the native language? The priests of Bali have been in *Majapahit*, how long is uncertain; but they descended from *Kediri*, and from thence probably it was that they brought their greater knowledge. These accounts can be brought into accordance with the account in question of the arrival of Siva Brahmans at *Majapahit*, if we here, likewise, bear in mind the transfer

of Baratawarsa into Java,—Kediri with its king Jayabaya lay in Baratawarsa; Majapahit seems not to have been comprised in it.

The literature of Bali from its nature is divisible into

1.—Sanskrit works, with Balinese paraphrase; they include the *Vedas*, the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, and the greatest part of the *Tuturs*.

2.—Kawi works: (a) the epics sacred to the people, viz. the *Rāmāyana*, *Uttarakanda* and the *Parvas*: — (b) the lighter Kawi poetry, as the *Wiwāha*, *Barata Yudda*, etc.

3.—Javanese-Balinese compositions, written partly in the native measures (*Kidung*), such as *Malat*; partly in prose, as the historical narratives *Kenhangrok*, *Rangga Lawe*, *Usana*, *Pamendanga*.

Some of the works in prose, especially the law-books, cannot be classed in the third category; they exhibit the ancient language strongly intermixed with Sanskrit, yet they cannot be called Kawi works, from the absence of measure, and this alone is the characteristic of the Kawi language. From this also the *poetical language* is determined.

To the accents which are used in the writings of Bali (vid. Tijdschrift 9. 3. 254-56) must here be added a sign for the long *û* differing from the ordinary Suku, and everywhere used in good manuscripts, where the Sanskrit exhibits the long *û*. This long *û* is called *Suku ilud*, and according to this, Tijd. 9. 3. page 255 l. 3, is to be corrected; the *kèrrèt* (ri-vocalis) is called *Guung makèrrèt* (*Guung* is *chakra*, *makèrrèt*, joined to *kèrrèt*). The long *î*, with a small point in the common figure, is called *ulu mija*. The Balinese have very indistinct notions respecting long and short vowels; however they, at least the learned priests, use the long *î*, the long *û*, and the *têdung* as signs for the long *â*, precisely following the tradition where they must stand according to the Sanskrit.

The priests are also in possession of a work on the euphonic laws, called *Sroyanohana*.

In earlier accounts it has been noticed that in Bali no inscriptions on stone or metal are met with, nor any older

characters than the present current writing. This is naturally explained from the letters only having been introduced since the fall of Majapahit or a very little before. Although we meet with no modes of writing of a more ancient date, yet in the new writings all the richness is preserved which ever was possessed by the Sanskrit writings in Java. It is only in the Balinese manuscripts that we find preserved, with the greatest purity, the numerous signs of the Sanskrit, which were superfluous and unpronounceable in Polynesian idioms. Nearly all doubt which may be entertained of the proper powers of the Sanskrit letters, as they have been received in Java and Bali, will be removed by the examination of the writing of this manuscript, and principally of the numerous Sanskrit words occurring in it; any possible faults will be corrected and excused by those who are conversant with the subject, if they consider the many transcriptions of such manuscripts which are made in Bali, and how easily some corruptions and inaccuracies might find their way into it among a small nation, shut out from the source of their civilization, and for 400 years dependent on themselves.

SACRED WRITINGS NEWLY DISCOVERED.

The first rank in the Balinese literature, as in that of the Hindus, is occupied by the *Vedas*. According to the communications of the priests, they are not complete in Bali, but only fragments, although, to judge from appearance, tolerably large ones, of all the four Indian Vedas, viz. 1, of the *Reg-Veda*; 2, *Yajur-Veda* (commonly inaccurately spelt *Yayur Veda*); 3, *Sâma-Veda*; 4, *Artawa-Veda* (a corruption caused merely by the transposition of the *r*, easily explained by the mode of writing the Indian-Balinese *r* above the line; the Indian name is *Atharva-Veda*). The author of the Vedas is *Bagawan Byasa* (*Vyâsa* in *India*).

The Vedas contain the formulas of prayer as well for the private worship of the Panditas, performed in their houses, as for the feasts, great offerings and cremations of the people, when the Panditas mumble them inwardly. They

are a mystery to all except the Brahmans, and the Panditas instruct the younger Brahmans in them in secret. The metre appears to be the epic *Sloka*, as further illustrated in the Article on Metre, and the language a pure Sanskrit. From their being written wholly in Slokas, we may suppose either that the Vedas were brought into that metre in ancient times, and in that form introduced into Java and Bali, or that the knowledge of forming Slokas existed in Java. If the names of the Vedas were not well known, I should rather incline to suppose that they never had been in possession of the genuine Vedas, since in India the metre of the Vedas is guarded by ample commentaries, and must be regarded as an integral and sacred part of those ancient scriptures. The whole of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* has been communicated to me on the condition of my not making any uninitiated person acquainted with it. In the same way, I may hope to obtain, also, further information about the rest of the mystic writings, and about the Vedas themselves.

The *Vedas* have also been in *Java*, since the priests of Bali are of Javanese derivation and had their abode in Kediri and Majapahit. Any direct arrival of Brahmans from India is not known in Bali, and even the immigrants into Majapahit, shortly after the destruction of that empire, appear not to have adopted the Vedas of *India* but of *Java*, and it is even doubtful whether they arrived directly from *India*, or only from some other part of *Java*, since the Panditas know nothing of such an arrival from India, while they nevertheless trace their genealogy through Kediri to India. From the tenor of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* in Bali we may draw conclusions as to the character of the *Vedas*. The genuine Indian pieces in the Vedas, which appear to be written in *Slokas*, are, probably, accompanied by a Balinese or Kawi comment, which after the lapse of some time became necessary even for the priests, in order not to lose the true sense of the original texts.

It is an object of the greatest importance to get possession of the remains of the Vedas in Bali. The religion can only

first become thoroughly intelligible by their means; they further give the standard for the determination of the state of Hinduism, when it spread to the islands, and, if compared with the antiquities of India, especially through a more intimate knowledge of the history of the Vedas in that island, will be of service in ascertaining the age from which the Indian influence, and the civilization of Polynesia consequent on it, may be dated. *Sūryasevana* (worship of the sun) signifies not only the religion of the priests, but also the book, containing those parts of the Vedas which are used for that worship. I saw the outside of the manuscript; it contained about 80 lontar-leaves. In respect of contents the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* comes nearest to the Vedas; it is also called shortly *Brahmāṇḍa*. We find in India 18 *Purāṇas*, among which is the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. These 18 are the sacred writings of all the different Indian sects. Six are especially holy to the votaries of *Wishnu*, six others to those of *Siva*, and six keep the mean. The more special sects have embraced chiefly one *Purāṇa*, as representing the abstract of their worship, as the worshippers of *Kresna* the *Bagawatpurāṇa*. In this way it is easily explained how, in *Bali*, the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* only should be in use, and how the *Panditas* should not have preserved even the slightest recollection of the other seventeen *puranas*, so little indeed that the names mentioned by me were altogether unknown to them. We find in *Bali* but one *Sivaitish* sect, and the adherents of it have acknowledged the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, perhaps already in *India*, as the only book of instruction. The *Purāṇas* are, as we know, the sacred books of the sectaries, and the priests in *India* did not trouble themselves much with the sects and their controversies, but, adhering to the more purified worship of the *Veda*, held the religion of the other people in contempt. Hence it is that the *Purāṇas* in *India* are, chiefly, in the hands of the people. In *Bali*, on the contrary, they are guarded by the priests like the whole of the holy scriptures, and even hid from the people. In *Bali*, everything relating to religion is in the hands of the priests, and on the great ignorance of the people in

all that is necessary according to the sacred literature for their temporal and celestial happiness, is founded the unlimited power of the priests, who are the organs of the Deity for the blindly believing people.

The contents of the *Brahmândapurâna* are: the creation, the ancestors of the world under the various Manus, the description of the world according to Indian notions, the history of the ancestors of old dynasties, besides mythology and mythic chronology; it is composed by *Bagawan Vyasa* (the holy Vyâsa). He is also known in India as the author of the *Vedas*, of all the *Purânas* and of the *Mahâbhârata*; his name signifies *composition*, and Prof. Lassen is of opinion that it is a personification of the *recension* of those holy writings (in what period did this take place?). It is worthy of remark, however, that in Bali he (as the compiler of the said works), as well as *Wâlmiki*, the author of the *Râmâyana*, are known, since from this we may complete the traditions from India.

The *Brahmândapurâna* is written in Slokas like the Indian *Purânas*; and it is to be lamented that we cannot get possession of the Indian *Brahmândapurâna*; a comparison of both of them would furnish us with a large amount of revelations on the progress of the literature, as well as on the relation of the Balinese to the original Indian worship. The Slokas seldom follow each other unbroken; generally, we meet with only a fourth or the half of a Sloka, followed by an extended paraphrase in the Balinese language. Under the head of Religion we shall give a few examples.

EPIC POETRY.

Râmâyana.—This is the oldest Indian epos, composed by *Wâlmiki*, who is also in Bali acknowledged as the author of it. Here, however, it exists as a Javanese elaboration by *M'poe Raja Kusuma*, also called *Jogiswara* or prince of the penitents, father of *M'poe (Hempi) Tanakung* and of another poet *M'pu D'armaja*, composer of the *Swaradahana*. The language is pure Kawi with a peculiarly large number of

Sanskrit words. The Indian Rāmāyana contains 7 *Kandas*, large divisions, again divided into *Sargas*, chapters; in Bali we find no *Kandas*, but the whole narrative of the first 6 *Kandas* is placed together and divided into 25 *Sargas*. The 7th, the *Uttara Kanda*, is no part of the narrative, but forms a separate work in Bali, the author of which, however, is accounted to be the same Wālmīki. The separation of this *Kanda* from the rest of the Rāmāyana, is a proof that it was introduced from India as a different piece, not forming part of the large work, in favour of which position the contents also speak, the *Uttara Kanda* giving an account of the history of the family of Rama after his death. From this we conclude that in India at the period when the Rāmāyana was communicated to the Javanese, the *Uttara Kanda* was not yet annexed to this work. We, likewise, do not find, in the Java-Balinese Rāmāyana, the long stories of the Bala Kanda, the history of Rāma as a child, where Wasista, the priest of the house, tells him tales of the time of old. Those narratives, partly very beautiful, such as that of the *Sagarides* and the descent of the river-goddess *Ganga* on the earth (vid. A. W. von Schlegel's Indian Bibliotheca), are episodes not forming part of the Rāma; they have, however, so many charms, especially for a people like the Javanese and Balinese, who take every story for truth, that the absence of those tales in the Java-Balinese Rāmāyana is surprising. We ascribe their absence to the same reasons as the separation of the *Uttara Kanda* from the Rāmāyana; at the time when the Rāmāyana found its way into Java, it was not so voluminous as at present in India, and comprised exclusively the history of Rāma. As to the *Mahābhārata*, it has long since been discovered by European scholars from the contents, and the form of different parts, that in this work, as it at present exists, we have before us a conglomerate of Indian myths, which have been interpolated, partly in recent times. The same seems to be the case with the Rāmāyana, though the interpolations are not met with so repeatedly, and are not spread through the whole work. For a careful critical comparison of the Indian Rāmāyana

with that of Bali I am at present in want of an edition of the Indian one. In Java, up to this time, there is only known a Javanese elaboration of the Kawi composition, the *Romo*; this is far behind the Balinese *Kawi* work both in language and style, and is looked upon by the Balinese as a corruption. The *Romo* probably was not composed until the Muhammedan era, and probably when, on the cooling of the religious zeal, the beautiful ancient literature was recollected, but the knowledge of the Kawi forgotten.

I have borrowed a good manuscript of the *Rāmâyana* from the highest and most learned priest in *Badong*, the *Padanda Made ALENG KACHENG* in *Taman Intaran*. It contains the *Rāmâyana* complete on 210 lontar-leaves, and is written very fairly, with great care in the use of uncommon signs, and with attention to the euphonic laws. Of this manuscript the last leaf with the signature is wanting, so that it cannot be ascertained how old it is. For my use the little that was deficient has been transcribed from the text of another manuscript. This latter was written in the year (of *Saka*) 1693, corresponding to the year of Christ 1771; and in *Bali* at *Bandharapura* (the Sanskrit name of *Badong*). *Badong* signifies as well the small kingdom of that name, as the residences of the princes of *Badong*, situated at no great distance from each other. We may translate *Bandharapura*, "the town of union," or "the united palaces of the princes," *pura* meaning a town and a royal palace. The Balinese word *badong* has also the same meaning. It is written with *alpasâstra* (small letters); which makes us think of capital (Kawi and Sanskrit) letters. The usual Balinese letters may indeed be said to be small ones (*alpa*), if compared with old writings still existing in Java. However, we find no other letters in Bali than the common recent current writing, and even the learned priests have lost every recollection of more ancient letters. Inscriptions on stone (as noticed already) are not found, and the letters of the Sanskrit shown by me to them were perfectly unknown to them. We can thus make nothing more of *alpasâstra* than that the writer humbly acknowledges that he makes use

of the *imperfect* letters, since the want of greater knowledge does not permit him to write better and more correctly.

The last words contain an invocation of the Deity, and we find them with slight variations at the end of several manuscripts; they are pure Sanskrit, and correspond to the invocations at the beginning of Sanskrit works: *Siddir astu, tatastu, ong Saraswati namah, ong t'mung Ganapataye namah, ong sri Gurubyo namah*, "Be this the accomplishment, be it thus (?): *Ong* adoration to *Saraswati*, *Ong* adoration to *Ganapati*, *Ong* to the gurus adoration!" The word *t'mung* is not very clear nor Sanskrit. The invocation of *tat-astu* (let this be) appears also superfluous; if we explain it by *tathâ astu* (may it be), the sense becomes no better. *Saraswati* is the goddess of letters, the consort of *Brahma*. In every Balinese year she has a feast, where the whole of the manuscripts are brought forth and consecrated in the temple. *Ganapati* or *Ganêsa*, the son of *Śiva* and *Parvatî*, is the god of arts and cunning, the Indian Mercury. His cunning is invoked in India as well as on Bali, in order to overcome the obstacles, which are likely to be met with in the composition of an important work. The *gurus* are on earth the parents and spiritual teachers; here, however, are meant the *celestial gurus*, the *Pitaras*, or "spirits of the departed members of the family," who receive a daily worship.

The *Râmâyana* is divided into 25 sargas or chapters. It begins with the incarnation of the god Vishnu in the family of the king *Dasarata* of Ayodhya (the present Oude); he becomes the son of *Dasarata* by his wife *Kosalya* (Sanskrit *Kausalyâ*); his half brothers are *Barata* by *Kekayi* and *Laksmâna* by *Sumitra*. His teacher is the *Muni Wasista*, who instructs him above all in the *Danurveda* "the art of arms." At an early age, the pious king *Wiscamitra*, the *rajarsi*, royal *resi* (vid. the *Rajarsis* in Bali, his successors), when he was recognized as an incarnation of Vishnu, invoked his aid to deliver his hermitage from the *Raksasas* who had made war against it. This he accomplished and bent the bow of *Parasu Râma*. From this the tale turns

to his nuptials with the fair Sita, and to the intrigues of his stepmother *Kekayi*, who forms the design to raise her son to the throne. After that he voluntarily retires into a hermitage, and subsequently into the forest of Dandaka, accompanied by Sita and Laksmana. Laksmana mutilates the *Raksasi Surpanaka* who wooed for his love, and by this excites the hatred of *Rawana*, the prince of Langka (Ceylon) and brother to *Surpanaka*, against Râma and his companions. *Rawana* ravishes the beautiful Sita, and Râma seeks for her in vain. He makes an alliance with the monkey-king *Sugriva*, and his son the swift *Hanuman*. *Hanuman* discovers the hidden spot where Sita was concealed, and then begins the war of Râma and his monkey-warriors against the Raksasas of *Langkapura*. A large part of the work is filled with instructive conversations between the monkey-princes and Râma, and their relations, especially between *Wibisana*, the brother of *Rawana*, and the latter. Finally *Rawana* is slain by Râma, who with his supernatural weapon *chakra* cuts off his ten heads. Sita is purified by *Agni* (the god of the fire) and disappears in mother earth. Râma becomes king of Ayodhya, and retires in old age to the forest hermitage, where he dies.

The *Râmâyana* and the *Parvas* are to the Balinese a sort of pattern for princes. The *adat* of the princes, and of the second and third castes, is contained in those works, holy to them, whilst the Vedas and other secret writings furnish the rules for the Brahmans. The princes and the chiefs of Bali are to regulate their lives in accordance with the Epic writings, and as long as they do so peace and quietness shall prevail and increase in the country. In the present time, however, many princes are charged with indifference to the sacred precepts, and with being, thereby, the cause of the diminution of the fortune and prosperity of Bali. A virtuous prince, before undertaking the smallest matter, examines first the conduct of the old *Kshatriyas* and demigods, as it is described in the ancient holy literature. The conduct of those ancient heroes is ever in the recollection of the princes of to-day, in order to regulate

their actions according to the holy patterns, wherever they may find themselves.

A king is to have the accomplishments of the eight gods of the points of the compass, viz. *Indra*, *Yama*, *Surya*, *Chandra*, *Anila*, *Kuvera*, *Baruna*, *Agni* (according to *Râmâyana*, lontar-leaf 181).

Uttarakanda.—This, as we have seen, is the last (7th) division of the Indian *Râmâyana*. The author is likewise *Balmiki* (*Walmiki*). Up to this time I have not got it into my hands; it is, however, the history of the brothers of *Râma*, and contains also stories altogether unconnected with the family of *Râma*. A more recent Kawi work is the *Arjuna-Wijaya*, which borrows its subject from the *Uttarakanda*; of which hereafter. *Kanda* (compare the *Kanda* of *Raffles*, vol. i. p. 373 et seq.), *division* in India, is used in Bali like *Parva* for all sacred writings; those Kawi works, however, whose names are *Kanda* and *Parva*, are chiefly destined for the princes and nobles of the second and third caste in Bali, whilst the works written in *Slokas* are confined as holy to the priests and Brahmans. The *Râmâyana* and the *Parvas* (of the *Mahâbhârata*) have not been long known to the whole people; they were a secret of the priests and chiefs, and contain rules for the latter in their government and for every action during their temporal life. In every undertaking and in every event, persons of rank are bound to conduct themselves in accordance with the precepts contained in those works. Contempt or indifference in following those sacred writings would bring disaster on princes and people alike, and the entire happiness of the country is indissolubly dependent on the imitation of those holy works.

Parvas (of the *Mahâbhârata*).—The second great Indian epos is the *Mahâbhârata*, composed by the *Muni Wyasa* (Bal. *Byasa*). The name of *Mahâbhârata* is not known in Bali, but its 18 divisions or *Parvas* are known. The names of those eighteen are correct. Six exist entire and two are incomplete. From the name of *Mahâbhârata* being unknown, it would appear that this work at the time it was brought from India to Java did not bear this name, nor

perhaps any general name at all, but that its divisions were already regarded as sacred writings. In that case, the name *Mahābhārata* is only applicable to a small part of the whole work, since the war of the Bharatas, that is of the Pandawas and Kurus, occupies not more than 20,000 Slokas, whereas the whole work contains above 100,000. The rest consists of interpolated narratives of various descriptions, which, as occasion admits, are inserted loosely or annexed. How much the Balinese Parvas did contain of the Indian ones, it is impossible for me to decide, without being in possession of the Indian *Mahābhārata*; the pieces contained in them stand, however, in high esteem, and are faithfully copied. They have:

1 <i>Adīparva</i>	6 <i>Swarga-Rāwanaparva</i>
2 <i>Virāṭaparva</i>	and parts of
3 <i>Bismaparva</i>	7 <i>Udyoga Parva</i> and
4 <i>Musalaparva</i>	8 <i>Asramawasaparva</i> .
5 <i>Prastanikaparva</i>	

The names of the remaining ten they give as follows:

9 <i>Saba Parva</i>	14 <i>Gada Parva</i>
10 <i>Aranyaka Parva</i>	15 <i>Svatama Parva</i>
11 <i>Drona Parva</i>	16 <i>Saptika Parva</i>
12 <i>Karna Parva</i>	17 <i>Strīpalapa Parva</i>
13 <i>Salya Parva</i>	18 <i>Asvamedayajnya Parva</i> . ¹

Along with them they mentioned also the Santika-parva, although they expressly said there existed no more than 18 *Parvas*: this can, therefore, be nothing but another name for one of the above 18 *Parvas*. *Vyāsa*, the author, whom we have already mentioned in speaking of the *Brahmānda-purāna*, is the son of *Parasara*, the grandson of *Sakri*, who is the son of *Vasista*, the domestic priest in Ayodhya, teacher of *Rāma*, and supposed progenitor of one of the most distinguished castes of the Brahmans. This family was nearly extirpated through *Sakri*, the son of *Vasista*, being

¹ These are, especially, the works whose deficiency the Brahmans, who spoke with Crawford, regretted. They requested me to communicate them to them, which I complied with as far as my pieces extended, with the promise to provide, also, the large remaining part. The Indian books themselves are of no use to them, since they do not know the writing. I was thus obliged to dictate them word by word.

devoured by one of the *Raksasas*. Vasista was ready to immolate himself by the flames, but was prevented on hearing from out of the womb of the mother, the cries of his grandson, who afterwards was called *Parasara*. He then resolved to spare his life for the education of the child. Upon this he performed his domestic worship, and while muttering the *Veda* a fire broke out, into which all the *Raksasas* were drawn down by an irresistible force and destroyed. This furnished the subject of a painting in the private temple of the rājā Kassiman of Gunong Rata, where we see the holy Vasista performing his worship in the manner still observed to-day by the *Panditas*, and hosts of *Raksasas*, by the power of his words, falling into the self-existent fire.

The Balinese maintain that the family of Vasista lived in *Baratawarsa* (the eldest holy name of the Brahmanical India, which however comprised only a part of the valley of the Ganges between *Ganga* and *Jamuna*). Vyāsa, the writer, is also called *Hempu* or *M'pu Yogiswara*. This is a name of frequent occurrence, and signifies even the highest divinity *Siva*. It is however explainable by the fact that a saint or *Padanda*, who retires from the world, becomes identified with the Deity, and is himself called *Siva*. In a certain sense, the Deity is himself the author of all the holy scriptures, since he enters into the composer and speaks and acts by him.

The *Bismaparva* contains 102 lontar-leaves. The *Adiparva* is nearly of the same size. The *Prastanika-parva*, which I saw, contained only 16 lontar-leaves, but was not complete. The names are all Indian ones with the exception of *Swatamaparva*, which seems to be a corruption of *Asvatthamaparva*, thus called after a hero of the *Mahābhārata*, a son of Drona. *Stripalapaparva* is called in the Sanskrit only *Striparva*; *palapa* seems to be formed in the Polynesian manner from *alapa* (harangue). The language of the *Parvas* is, like that of the *Rāmāyana*, pure *Kawi*, and more difficult to be understood than the other important *Kawi* works. In addition we have a *Kapiparva*, containing

the history of *Sugriva*, *Hanuman* and their ancestors in the monkey-dynasty. There exist also the *Chantaka* or *Ketaka-Parva*; this is a sort of dictionary, where all the synonyms are classed together after the manner of the Javanese *dasanama*; it was compiled by Kavidasi, the follower of Byâsa; it commences with the numerous denominations of the gods, and is for that reason of great importance for the mythology. It is however written in prose, and like the *Kawiparva* strongly separated from the 18 holy *Parvas*. An *Agasti* (or *Anggasti*) *Parva* came also to my knowledge, in which the holy *Agasti* (the star *Canopus* and leader of *Râma* in his campaign against the south of India) gives instruction to his son *Dredasya*; this work is not to be confounded with the *Parvas* of the *Mahâbhârata*.

To the ancient Indian literature pertain further the books of the laws, especially that of *Manu*. The Balinese law-books are, likewise, drawn from them, although they are written neither in *Slokas* nor in *Kawi*, and we shall, therefore, speak of them after the *Kawi* literature. The original law-book of *Manu*, *Mânawadarma-sâstra*, is not known in Bali either by that name or by that of *Menawa Sâstra* (as the name is said to be on Bali by Raffles, vol. i. p. 991). *Prabu Manu*, however, is mentioned as the founder of the law, and the Indian origin of the Balinese law and law-books is thus certain. The *Purvâdigama* or *Siva Sâsana*, especially, is said to have *Manu* for its author. (*Vide infrâ.*)

COMMON KAWI LITERATURE.

1. *Bârata Yudda*.—With respect to its contents, the *Bârata Yudda* stands nearest to the *Parvas*. For a considerable time it has been regarded as the only version of the Indian *Mahâbhârata* in our islands. But we have now found on Bali the original pieces of that epos. The *Bârata Yudda* is formed after four of the *Parvas*, viz. after the *Bisma*, *Drona*, *Karna*, and *Salya-Parva*; the author is *Hempu* (or *M'pu*) *S'dah*, who lived in the time of *Sri Paduka Batârâ Jayabaya*, Prince of Kediri, and wrote his works by the order of the latter; the design of the Prince was to obtain by the

composition of the work a *kadiggayan*, a *subjugation of the world*. In this also an Indian idea is conspicuous; by the performance of great offerings, by sumptuous works of architecture, and by works of literature, the prince thus engaged becomes not only famous, but he also acquires extraordinary power, by which he is enabled to subject the universe to his will. Such was also the aim of the great offering of the prince of Lombok (in September, 1846), who, not being recognized by all as the legitimate chief, sought, by offerings and abundant alms, to prove his royal right and to strengthen himself for warlike enterprises. The time at which the manuscript of which I made use was composed is the year of Saka 1724 (corresponding to the year of Christ 1802). To judge from its outward appearance, I should have taken it to be much older; in 46 years the lontar-leaves have already become much injured, and it seems to prove what is said, also, of Indian manuscripts, that they cannot survive a hundred years. This, probably, is also one of the causes that in Java, in so short a time, almost the whole of the ancient literature was lost, and that, when the desire for the old literature was revived, hardly any of the old manuscripts could be discovered. In Bali, also, we must not look for very old manuscripts; however, those which are guarded and transcribed in the families of the priests may almost be considered as original, since in these families the knowledge of language and religion is preserved with the minutest care. Some faults are, of course, also possible here.

The place where the manuscript was written is *Swechcha-nagara*, also called *nagara Sukawati*, situated in the kingdom of Gianyar. I have noticed above that *Badong* has also a Sanskrit name (*Bandanapura*); this is the case with all distinguished places in Bali; this place has even two nearly accordant Sanskrit names. *Sukawati* is the city abounding in pleasure; *Swechcha-nagara*, the city of well-being. We perceive here, again, how far the Indian element, and thereby the Indian language, has penetrated into Bali. However, all those places have also Polynesian names for the populace

—the Sanskrit ones are frequently known to the princes and priests only.

The name *Bārata Yudda* was formerly translated “penance, combat,” and commonly written *Brātā Yudda*; *brata* (Ind. *vrata*) is *penance*, and the heroes of the combat acquiring perfection by penance, the explanation had appearance in its favour. But we find in the manuscripts of the priests of Bali constantly *Bārata Yudda*, with the capital *b* (according to De Groot), corresponding to the Sanskrit *bh*, and followed by the *t’dung* (or *tarung*), representing the long *ā*; the name cannot, therefore, be brought into accordance with *brata*, which originated in *vrata*. *Bārata*, as we find it written, signifies however “a descendant of *Bharata*” (the old Indian ruler of the universe), and we have thus in our work “*the combat of the descendants of Bharata*.” Now the *Kurus* and the *Pandawas* are descendants of that ruler, and nothing can be more appropriate than such a title for the work. This explanation has, already, been offered by Raffles, but the reasons which render it irrefutable we first learned from the good Balinese manuscripts.

The conclusion of this work agrees much with that of the *Rāmāyana*, and is Sanskrit: *Ong sri devyebyo namah, ong t’mung Ganapataye namah, ong siddir astu, tat-astu hastu, ong dirgayur astu. Ong* adoration to the happy gods! *Ong* adoration to *Ganapati*! *Ong* may the accomplishment be, may that be! *Ong*, may there be long life! *Devyebyo* must be *devebyo*. What gods however are meant is not clear. *Saraswatī* and *Ganeśa* cannot be intended, since the latter is invoked separately; *tat-astu* is here made more forcible by the addition of another *astu*; the word *t’mung* here likewise precedes *Ganapati*. *Dirgayus*, “long life,” is a thing for which the Indians and Balinese, and especially the composers of literary works, always supplicate the Deity. It is not necessary to draw the attention of those who are acquainted with Sanskrit to the inflected Sanskrit forms, and to the proper observance of the difficult euphonic laws of that language, occurring here and at the conclusion of the *Rāmāyana*. In an enumeration

of the Kawi works of a less sacred character, the *Bârata Yudda* is placed at the head, because the contents are closely connected with the holy *Parvas*. It stands however in less esteem, and is more recent than some other Kawi works, e.g. the *Wiwaha*. The language is also not a very pure Kawi, but more intermixed with the common *bhâsâ*.

2. *Wiwaha*.—This is known from the Javanese paraphrase of *Gerike*, published in the twentieth volume of the Transactions of the Batavian Society. The contents and arrangement of the narrative in the Kawi *Wiwaha* is the same as in the translated paraphrase. The language is a very pure and beautiful Kawi; it is likewise not composed in the common Javanese song-form, but in the metres derived from India (to be afterwards described). The author is *M'pu Kanwa*, not *Kanno*, as we find in the Javanese *Wiwaha*, which word has been formed by the usual Javanese corruption of *wa* into *o*. *Kanwa* is the name of an Indian *Muni* or Saint. Our *Kanwa*, however, we may be sure, was a Javanese, perhaps of an Indian descent. He too lived in *Kediri* under *Ayer Langgia*, the ancestor of *Jayabaya*.

Hempu S'dah and *Hempu Kanwa* seem to have been adherents of the Sivaitic sect. We find here few or no traces of Buddhism in the *Bârata Yudda* and *Wiwaha*.

3. *Smara dahana*, the burning of *Smara* (the god of love); a well-known Indian myth. The god *Siva* is interrupted in his penance by *Smara* (or *Kama*), that is to say, he loses the fruits of his penance by falling in love. Enraged by this, he burns the god of love in flames which issue from his body. The god of love is therefore also called *Anangga* (the bodiless), because his body was burnt by *Siva*. This work too is of the time of *Ayer Langgia*, Prince of *Kediri*. The author is called *M'pu Darmaja*, son of *Raja Kusuma*, the composer of the *Ramayana Kawi*.

4. *Sumâna Santaka* comprises part of the Indian *Raghuvansa*.¹ *Raghu*, the ancestor of *Râma*, begets the *Adia*; she

¹ The Indian *Raghuvansa* has been published in Calcutta, and by Stenzler in London.

is permitted to choose her consort after the Indian royal custom (*Svayamwara*, also so called on Bali). Her husband *Devindu* died, and she then gave birth to *Dasarata*, the father of Râma. This work also is composed in Kediri or Daha under *Ayer Langgia*; the writer is *M'pu Monaguna* (the name signifies "whose prominent attribute is silence, *mauna*"). The writers of the three latter works bear Sanskrit names, and belong to the Sivaitic sect; the names of the Buddhist writers are in the language of the country, and, in this circumstance, likewise, the characteristic of that religion is conspicuous, which made its way chiefly by yielding to and adopting the manners of the numerous and widely different countries into which it was propagated; whilst Brahmanism, rigidly adhering to the ancient traditions, and holding in contempt all that is foreign, is nowhere found beyond India except in Java and Bali, and perhaps in parts of Sumatra and Celebes.

All the three above-mentioned works are in a peculiarly good style, and highly esteemed, and this chiefly because they are of Sivaitic authorship.

5. *Bomakawya*; the song of *Boma* (or *Bhâuma*),¹ "the son of the earth;" he is begotten by *Wishnu* from *Pretiwî* (the earth), and has, as son of the earth, a demon form and disposition. He is a *Danawa* (that is, like the Grecian Giants and Titans). He waged war against *Indra*, the god of (the lower) heaven, and triumphed over him. (*Indra* is also overcome by *Rawana*, the giant-king of Ceylon, and his power appears everywhere as secondary, against which the evil spirits are proof.) One of the higher gods (*Wishnu* or *Siva*) must subject his adversaries in order to restore peace and order on earth. Here it is *sang Kresna*, the well-known (eighth) incarnation of *Wishnu*, who kills *Boma*, and delivers *Indra* from his distress. *Boma* is killed by being lifted up from the earth, which constantly re-invigorates him. The author is *M'pu Bradah Boda*, that is, "a *Bauddha*, a *Buddhist*;" he wrote in the time of

¹ *Buma Kalantaka* by Raffles; the name *Anraka Sura* has not yet come to my knowledge in Bali. (Raffles, vol. i. p. 388.)

Jayabaya of *Kediri*. Under that king Buddhism seems to have found its way for the first time into *Kediri* (the largest empire which existed in Java before *Majapahit*).

6. *Arjuna Wijaya* ("the triumph of *Arjuna*") is formed after the *Uttarakanda* in like manner as the *Bârata Yudda* after the four above-mentioned *Parvas*. It contains the combat of *Arjuna* with *Rawana* and his victory. *Rawana* is here bound, but not yet killed, because his time has not yet arrived. He is to be destroyed by *Râma*. Whether we are warranted in supposing, here, an expedition of the Brahman Hindus against the South of India and Ceylon, previous to that of *Râma* (who is considered to be a personification of the subjugation of those regions), further research must show. The composer is *M'pu Tantular Boda*, likewise a Buddhist in *Kediri* under *Jayabaya*.

7. *Suta Soma*.—The *ratu Detia* (*Danauca*, *Demon*). *Purusada* had made captive all the kings of *Baratawarsa* and conquered the *ratu Darma*. He is overcome by *Suta Soma* and his relative *Prabu Maketu*. It contains many episodes, and also the history of *Râma*. The subject is said to be taken from the *Ketaka Parva* (vid. supra), although we should not have expected it from the nature of that work. The author is the same who composed the *Arjuna-Wijaya* viz. the Buddhist *M'pu Tantular* of *Kediri*.

We have thus compositions from older works in the epoch of *Jayabaya*, or at least of the successors of the King of *Ayer Langgia*; it appears that the older *Kawi* language then began to be difficult of comprehension, and that the favourite subjects of literature were, therefore, translated into a more comprehensible language. The influence of the Buddhists in this innovation is not to be mistaken.

8. *Harivangsa*.—This likewise is an Indian poem, commonly joined to the *Mahâbhârata* (the Indian one is translated by Langlois in Paris and obtainable in Calcutta); this piece, too, invites us to a comparison between *India* and *Java*, the *Kawi* and the Sanskrit. The contents, according to the priests, are: the conduct of *Kresna* towards *Rukmini* (his wife), and the war against the two princes *Jarasanda*,

father-in-law of *Kansa*, ruler of *Magada*, and *Chedi* or *Sisupala*. This work is written in *Majapahit*,¹ and thus of later origin than the preceding; the author is *M'pu Penulu Boda*, likewise a Buddhist. The King of Majapahit at this period was *Brayang W'kasing Suka*, father of *Bra Wijaya* (*Browijoyo*), who, according to Javanese records, was the last (Hindu) prince of Majapahit.

These are the most important works of the Kawi literature, so far as I am yet acquainted with it. With these however we are far from having exhausted Balinese literature. We have besides them, first, the *law-books* written in prose; further, the *Tuturs* or "instructive writings," of which nothing can as yet be ascertained, since they are for the most part secret writings. Further, the *Babads* or historic-genealogical works, partly written in *Kidung*, *i.e.* the newer (Javanese) measure, partly in prose. Moreover, we have pure Polynesian myths; above all, those of *Panji*, which are likewise written in *Kidung*. Then there also exist little essays on the transmigration of the soul, on erotic subjects, etc.; and finally there is the Balinese *Kalendar*, a work of the utmost importance.

BABAD, OR HISTORICAL ESSAYS.²

1. *Kenhangrok*.—He is a son of *Brahma* and progenitor of the rulers of *Kediri*, *Majapahit* and *Bali*. It has not as yet been ascertained in what epoch he must be sought for. His residence was in the *Kampong N'dok*, whose situation is not known in Bali, but is supposed to be in *Baratawarsa*. It is written in prose, and contains forty or more lontar-leaves. I am only in possession of the first part, which has no more than seventeen leaves. His mother is called *Kenhendok*; the god *Brahma* met her, much in the same way as the

¹ *Majapahit* is the literal translation of the Sanskrit *Wilwatikta* (corrupted *Wilatikta*, *Us. Jawa*), the bitter *vilva* (aegle marmelos); this then at least is not a fictitious fruit, and the name of *Majapahit* not unmeaning, as it was formerly considered (*vid. Raffles*).

² The name *Babad* is also met with in Java (*vid. Raffles, Literature*, vol. i. p. 398), and it also comprises, following him, all the historic works and new chronicles. *Raffles* spells it *Babat*. In Bali I find the word written *Babad*.

Greek Zeus knew how to win his numerous loves, whilst she as a married woman was amusing herself in the field.

2. *Rangga Lawe*. — *Siva Buddha* (N. B.), ruler of *Tumapel*, is made captive for misgovernment by the King of *Daha* or *Kediri*, and his empire *Tumapel* is overthrown. The chief minister of *Kediri* is *Rangga Lawe*; he at a later time disagrees with his sovereign, and is finally vanquished and put to death. The work contains a minute description of the court of *Kediri* and the position of the *grande*es of the empire, and may serve as a pattern of the constitution of the old empire in *Java*. It is, especially, maintained in *Bali* that the court of *Majapahit* was altogether in the same style, and that all the rules of the court of *Kediri* were carried to *Majapahit*. For this reason it would be desirable to have this work published (text and translation), accompanied by the necessary notes; this however can only be usefully done in *Bali*. The manuscript in my possession contains sixty-seven lontar-leaves, each furnished with four rows on the face and back, and is written very neatly. It was written in *Garogor* (*Glogor*) in *Badong*, on the day of *Saneschara Kaliwon Landep*, in the month *Kasa*, the 13th day of the increasing moon, in *rah* 9, *tenggèk* 6, corresponding with the year of Christ 1847, Saturday, the 26th June. It commences with a metre of fifty-two syllables in each line, the stanza as usual of four lines.

3. *Usana Jawa*, "The ancient institutions of *Java*," a work containing the subjugation of *Bali* by the *Javanese* of *Majapahit* and the settling of the *Deva Agung* in *Gèlgel*, with the distribution of the lands amongst the *grande*es of the Court. One manuscript of it had twenty-nine lontar-leaves, and was derived, as they told me, from *Pasuruang*; it, however, probably came from *Bali* to this place, and seems to be little or not at all known in *Java*. It is written in prose. In that work a predilection for *Arya Damar* and his family is plainly manifested, whilst it passes over the *Patih Gaja Madda*, the founder of *Mengui* and ancestor of the powerful family of *Karang-Asem*, almost in silence. For this we may find reason in the circumstance that it

was originally composed by a follower of the dynasty of *Arya Damar*. According to the postscript it was written in *Galogor* by *Pam'chuttan* (in *Badong*), on the day *Rediti Paking* (Sunday), in the week *Dungulan*, in the month of *Kanam* (the 6th), on the 13th day of the dark half, in the year 1 (*rah*), of the *ténggék*¹ 6. This would be the year 51, if we take the eighteenth century, we should have 1751 of *Saka*, corresponding to the year 1839 of the Christian era.

4. *Usana Bali*.—The contents of it are known from the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie*, 9th year, vol. 3, pp. 245-373. There I have said that it is a work exclusively intended for the people, and not esteemed by the priests. It is otherwise with the *Usana Jawa*, which is held in honour by all castes, at least in *Badong*.

5. *Pamendanga*,² a sort of Chronicle of more recent times. It contains sundry confused histories of priests and kings, of the distribution of Bali amongst the original *Pungawas* of *Gelgel*, and genealogies of kings, of *Karang-Asem*, for instance. Respecting the division of the vice-regencies among the *Pungawas*, this work widely differs from the *Usana Jawa*, and its value and style are far inferior to those of the latter. It is also written in prose. Other *Babads* are found in the family of every prince; if it were possible to gather the greater part of them from the different states, they certainly would spread much light on the history of Bali, if carefully compared with each other.

TUTURS, OR DOCTRINAL WRITINGS.

These are divided into two classes, the secret writings of the priests, and such as are also current among the other castes, especially the second and third. The former are extremely numerous, but since they are kept secret, we can only mention the names of a limited number of them. They

¹ *Ténggék* is a period of ten years. *Rat*, a single year of that time. Supposing the era to be known, we find from it the year of *Saka*.

² From the *Pamendanga* a play is derived, performed by a single person in *topengs* (masks); it represents the more ancient history of Bali, viz. of the *Deva Agung*s.

seem to be written, like the *Vedas*, in *Slokas*. The names I obtained are the following :

1. *Buwana Sangksepa* (the shortening or contraction of the world or of men).

2. *Buwana Kosa* (the treasure of the world).

3. *Wrêhaspati Tatwa* (the Tatwa, truth, the essence of *Wrêhaspati*, the star Jupiter, teacher of the gods).

4. *Sarasa Muschaya* (*sârasa* is explained by *isi*, the contents; it is, however, probably *sârâsa*, the lotus; *muschaya* is not very clear, but is explained by *kumpulan*, "accumulation," "gathering;" this is one of the works enumerated by *Crawfurd*).

5. *Tatwa Jnyana* (knowledge of substance, *essentia*).

6. *Kandampat*.

7. *Sajotkranti*.

8. *Tutur Kamoksa* (vid. *infra*). Under this denomination exist numerous works; it means, "instruction for blessedness, or for delivery from the transmigration of the soul."

The second class of the *Tuturs*, current, also, among the other castes besides the Brahmans, are, for instance,

1. *Rajaniti* (wisdom of kings); it contains rules for the policy and the government of kings, and is in many respects analogous to *Machiavelli's Princeps*.

2. *Nitipraya* or *Nitisastra* (super-abundance, or manual of wisdom); it is of a similar character with the former.

3. *Kamendaka Niti* (rules of wisdom of the sage *Kamendaka*).

4. *Naranatia* (*nara* "men," *natia* "the mimic").

5. *Ranayajnya* (the sacrifice of the battle).

6. *Titi dasa gunita*; this belongs properly to the first division, but has been made by *Padanda Wahu Rawuh* into *Kawi* under the name of *Nitisara* (compendium of wisdom).

LAW-BOOKS.

These are written in prose; they comprise most of the Balinese books which are mentioned by *Crawfurd* and *Raffles*. The accounts of them however differ from each other. *Raja Kasiman* names them :

1. *Āgama*. 2. *Adigama*. 3. *Devāgama* (somewhat difficult to understand).

4. *Sārasamuschaya* (the same we have just met with among the secret writings).

5. *Dustakalabaya* (the fear of the malignant Kala), a law-book, in which in particular the faults committed by children are punished.

6. *Swara Jambu* (the voice of Jambu), that is, "the command, the law of India," *Jambu-Dwipa*.

7. *Devadanda* (in very old language), it comes in use when *Wishnu* appears incarnated upon earth.

8. *Yajñasadma* (yajña "sacrifice"—sadma?).

The *Pandita* in *Taman Intaram* mentions only

1. *Āgama*.¹ 2. *Adigama*,—the two law-books mentioned by Raffles as the basis of the law for the common people. Raffles calls the latter *Degama*.

3. *Pūrvādigama* or *Sivasāsana*, the above *Adigama*, or "the command of *Siva*," of value exclusively for the Brahmins.

4. *Devāgama*, the *āgama* of the *Devas*.

5. *Svājambu* — *Svarājambu*; the meaning is doubtful; perhaps *svara* "voice," "command," and *jambu*, in lieu of *Jambu Dwipa* (India), thus, "the voice of the law of India."

The principal law-book from India (ap. Raffles *Menawa Sastra*, Ind. *Mānava-dharma-sāstra*) is wanting, according to all inquiries for it which I made among several priests and persons of rank. They, however, are aware that all their laws have been derived from *Prabu Manu* (the ruler Manu), who, in different ages, under different names, holds the government of the world. I found it mentioned only in the *Sivasāsana*, the law-book of the Brahmins, under the name *Dharma-sāstra Kutara-Mānavādi*; *ādi* has here, it would seem, the true Indian sense "and so forth," so that

¹ *Āgama* is explained by *Wilson*, Sanskrit Dict., "a *Sāstra* or work on sacred science and of divine origin." In the Malayan and common Balinese language it signifies religion; in the names *Āgama*, *Adigama*, *Devāgama*, it has evidently more the old Indian meaning, and especially that of law-book. *Adigama* seems to have originated in *Adhi* and *Āgama*, with the omission of the first *ā* of *āgama*, a carelessness which is frequently met with among the Sanskrit words in the Kawi, e.g. *Svatamaparya* for *Asvattamaparya*. The *a* in Polynesian words is a euphonic prefix, which was then omitted in the Sanskrit words likewise.

the translation will be “*the law-books, that of Kutara Mânava and the others.*” Kutara¹ is also mentioned by Raffles as “a law-book,” and is not explained by Humboldt. *Kutara* appears to me to be the same as *Uttama*, viz. the name of the third in the line of *Manus*. The conversion of *Uttama* into *Kutara* is quite possible, and supported by a passage of the *Brahmândapurâna*: *Utara Manu*, lont. 11. *Uttara* is the comparative, “*the higher*,” and *Uttama* the superlative, “*the highest*” degree. The *k* before *Utara* I am inclined to regard as the Polynesian prefix, added through ignorance. Opposed to this conjecture, it is true, is the fact that the law of India must have been framed by the first *Manu*, *Swayambhuwa Manu*; but we have various law-books, and these are even yet not all known. Possibly the original Balinese law-book has been derived from another Indian one, although the contents are upon the whole the same as in that of *Swayambhuwa*.

This *Dharmasâstra Kutara Mânava* is either now in Bali and kept secret, or it is one of the works which existed in Java, but were lost and were not brought to Bali. It is mentioned along with the *Sârasa Muschaya*,² which we learn to be one of the *Tuturs*; further, along with the *Kamandaka*, a *Tutur* for obtaining advantage, or intrepidity. A learned Brahman is expected to be acquainted with all these works. It was not without the greatest difficulty that I got the *Sivasâsana* into my hands; however, I may hope to obtain in the like way insight into the remaining law-books and the *Tuturs*. The *Sivasâsana* was borrowed by me on the same condition as the *Brahmândapurâna*, viz. not to show it to any one of the people. The manuscript of the *Sivasâsana*

¹ Kutara is, following Wilson, “the post round which the string passes, that works the churning stick.” This explanation is here in no way applicable.

² *Sârasa Muschaya* might be explained by: “*the lotus (or the sea) of the nobly born*,” if we take *Muschaya* for a corruption of *Anushyâyana*, “a man of noble descent,” “person of rank.” The *a* was easily thrown off, as we have seen in many instances, or united with the *a* at the end of *Sârasa*, and becoming thereby a long *â*, which however was no longer recognized. Another explanation would be “*the lotus to be hidden*,” if *Muschaya* may be regarded as a corruption of *Mushya*. Both corruptions are made possible by the frequently occurring omission and addition of syllables, and the imperfection of the organ for such words.

[This is clearly a mistake on Dr. Friederich's part. The Sanskrit equivalent is evidently *sâra-samuchchaya*.—E.]

in question was written on the day *Mahulu Paking Anggara* (Tuesday), of the week *Sungsang*, in the year of *Saka* (*Sakawarsa*) 1682 (A.D. 1760), in the month *Srawana*, on the 8th day of the white half, in *Wilatikta*.¹ After this the writer makes his excuses in the customary manner for the bad and careless writing, and he has great need to do so, for the manuscript abounds in faults; he pleads his inexperience (*muda*) and inferiority (*hina dina*). He adds further that the work is a secret writing (*rahasya*), and concludes with the well-known invocation :

Siddir astu, tat' astu astu
 Ong Saraswatie namah
 Ong g'mung Ganapataye namah
 Ong sri Gurubyo namah
 Ong ong Kâmadevaya namah.

Respecting these invocations, we refer to what is said under *Râmâyana* and *Bârata Yudda*. Here only is added "*Ong* adoration to *Kâmadeva* !" He, the god of love, would thus appear to be peculiarly the favourite deity of the writer. The god of love is indeed highly honoured and praised in many of the newer poems, a circumstance the analogy of which we find again in India. We give here the prologue, the text and the translation of the *Sivasâsana* :

"This is the *Pûrvâdigama*—*Sâsana-sâstra-saro-drêta*,² first composed by the accomplished old teacher, the raja *Purohita*, who knows all qualities, who resembles the rays of the sun, who dwells in the hearts of all mankind; *Misraharana*, who as the highest precious stone outshines all the divine

¹ Where this *Wilatikta* is to be sought for in Bali remains uncertain; it is (*Wilwatikta*) the Sanskrit name for *Majapahit*. It is possible that the work was originally written in *Majapahit*, and that the copyists in succession retained the name of the city, where it originally was composed, although they themselves were in Bali.

² This word must be divided, it would appear, into two parts; *Purvâdigama sasana* "the command, law of the *Purvâdigama*," and *Sâstra Saro dreta* "in which is contained the essence of holy works." The *Saro* is inserted instead of *Sara*, and we thus find the nominative case in place of the theme in a composition. This seems to be an error founded very likely in the want of acquaintance with the meaning of the Sanskrit terminations and inflexions, but offering at the same time another proof of the preservation of the inflexions in the memory of the Panditas.

teachers of *Siva* (of the Sivaite sect), the lowest, the middle, and the highest; further is he named the first *Guru*, the great saint. The same asked for *ashes*, after he had obtained permission to ask for *ashes* of the children and grandchildren of *Sang Basmangkura*(?); the same commanded him thereupon to compose the *Sâsanâdigama Sâstrasarodrêta* for all priests, as many as hold the religion of *Siva*; for the Panditas of *Siva* as well who live in the cities, the perfect ones, as also those who choose to dwell partly in cities, partly in the country, also for the host of the learned, who take care of processes, who settle disputes between all men, at the court and in the country, this is *their number*. Assuredly the *Adigamasâstra sarodrêta* must contain the laws for the conduct of them all."

The text follows. It is upon the whole pure, but exhibits notwithstanding some faults, e.g. *basma* with the common *b*.

Awignam astu. Nihan Purvâdigama-sâsana sâstra-sarodrêta purwa ramba¹ sang t'las wrêddâchârya² râja purohita sarvagunajna, banu-rasmi sadrêsa sarvajanahrêjaya, ta Misraharana, sakâlâgra-chudamani sirasi pratistita t'kap sahana parâchârya Siva³ kabeh, kanista-madyottama,⁴ n'dan sira paramâdiguru mahâbagawân⁵ tanggehnira, sira pangu-

¹ *Purwaramba* is divisible into *purwa*, "the first or the foremost," and *âramba* "the beginning." The work was first written by Pandita *Misraharana*.

² That Pandita is *wrêddâchârya* (*wredta* "aged," and *âcharya* "a spiritual teacher"); "the aged, experienced teacher;" further, *raja Purohita* "a royal Purohita" (domestic priest, vid. below). *Sarvagunajna* (he knows all the *gunas*), which, as we have seen above, are three, viz. *Satwa*, *raja*, *tama*. "He is like the rays of the sun, and enlightens the world by his wisdom; he dwells in the hearts of all men, and is beloved and honoured by every one." *Misraharana* is a genuine Indian Brahmanical name; *misra* is found in many names; it signifies "a person of distinction." *Sakâlâgrachudamani-sirasi-pratistita*, etc., "he stands above the head of all Brahmans, as the precious stone *chûdamani* is the highest extremity of the head ornament (of *Siva*)."

³ *Parâchârya Siva*, with the addition of *Kabeh*; *parâchârya* means "all the teachers;" *âcharya Siva* "the teachers of the *Siva*-worship," contrasted with the *âcharya Buddha* "the Buddhist teachers." However, even in this work, which bears such distinct marks of Sivaitism, we find proofs of intermixture with Buddhism.

⁴ *Nista madyottama* is known to us from the Us. Bali, p. 340. Here, however, are meant the various ranks of the priests, depending on their learning and piety.

⁵ The writer is also *Paramâdiguru* "highest of the *Gurus*" (vid. below *Guruloka*); further, *Mahâbagawân* "the most holy," *bagawân* is the title of the *Resi*, e.g. *Bagawan Trinawindu Maharsi* is an inscription on stone, in the possession of the Batavian Society, lithographed in the twenty-first volume of the *Trans-*

daran bāśma ngaranira sakari wnangnira panadahan bāśma t'kapning santana pratisantana¹ sang Bāsmangkura, sira atah pramanāken² pagēhnikang raksaning sāsanādigama sāstra-saro-drēta ri para pungku³ makabehan sahana sang gum'ge Sivāgama, kimuta sahana sang Budyangga Siva pinaka stawira ring nagara sang sâmpun-krētta, nguni weh sang mahārep ring nagara lāwan ring pradesa, t'las karuhun sang watêk pragiwaka wyawahara wihedaka,⁴ sang w' nang

actions; it is also found, although illegible, in Raffles, vol. i. page 42. This title is very frequently given in the Balinese writings to holy men. He requests *basma* "ashes." Ashes are usually spread over the body by the Sivaites in India, and are used by all penitents together with cow-dung. On Bali *basma* is explained to be *chandana*, i.e. pounded sandal-wood mixed with odoriferous oils, and this is frequently used in religious ceremonies. The loathsomeness of ashes and dung seems not to be reconcilable with the Sivaitish religion on Bali. *Siva* is considered on Bali rather as a friendly god, a god of light, who is not pleased with such impurities. *Kāla*, for whom they are chiefly designed (the black malignant god), does not enjoy such prominent worship as in India. I have however also seen Balinese, who besmeared the lower parts of the body with some black matter; but on inquiring whether it was cow-dung, I was answered in the negative. A distinction must be made between this and medicaments. *Sang Basmangkura* can be no other than *Siva*; the word is not very clear; but as *Siva* is frequently represented in India as a penitent, besmeared with ashes and cow-dung, the name *Basmangkura* seems to be applicable to *Siva* under that form. The practice of spreading ashes over the body thus still prevailed in the time at which the work was first written. The request of the Pandita of Siva for ashes is similar to the existing custom of the Balinese, who ask in the temples and of the priests for consecrated water; common ashes could not have been used by the Pandita for his religious observances, just as common water has no purifying virtue for the people.

¹ The position renders it uncertain how *Santana pratisantana* is to be construed. The words naturally appear to belong to *Sang Basmangkura*, but the sense requires us rather to refer them to the *Pandita*; this construction, it is true, is a forced one; we should be compelled to read it thus, *Sakari w' nangnira t'kapning santana pratisantana panadahan basma sang Basmangkura* "since he had power, (he) with his children and grand-children, to ask ashes of *Sang Basmangkura*." Even thus arranged, it still remains imperfect, because we should expect to find the prefix (*ring*) before *Sang Basmangkura*. It cannot, however, be supposed that the children and grand-children of *Siva* are here spoken of.

² *Pramanāken*, a derivation from *pramana*, "the principal object," thus, "to make one's chief object." *Pagēhnikang raksaning sāsanādigama* would seem rather to convey the meaning "to preserve, than to make, the *Sāsana*." It must of course be supposed, or rather it is known, that there existed a more ancient law-book. The *Pandita* then only receives the order to make a recension, which is to be used for all the Brahmans in the cities and the country, and those who exercise judicial powers. This very probably is also indicated by the addition of *Sāstrasaro-drēta*, which I translated, although not justly according to the Indian rules of composition, "in which is contained the marrow (medulla) of the sacred writings (the codices);" certainly indicating the earlier existence of other sastras, of which *Misraharana* only made an extract or review.

³ *Pungku* is explained to be *Pandita*. It is repeated here once more, that the new law-book shall be used for all the priests, who adhere to the *Sivāgama*, "the worship of *Siva*."

⁴ *Wyawahāra*—*wihedaka*. *Vyawahāra* (following Wilson) "contest at law,"

mamgatakên wiwadaning sarva jana ring sabâ¹ madya muang ring pradesa na ta luirnira, yayan sang hyang Adigama sâstra-saro-drêta juga pamakning sâsana kramanirâ-tika kabeh.²

This introduction may serve as a proof of the abundance of Sanskrit words in its language, and give an idea of the contents, which we cannot further describe here.

There further exists in *Bali* a law-book, called *Swara*, issuing from the *Deva Agung*, and in force for all princes and persons of rank. It cannot, as yet, be ascertained whether it is the same work as the *Swarajambu* (or *Swajambu*), but it seems to be a different one, since the addition of *Jambu* in the latter points to its Indian origin.

(*Explanation.*) *Tatwa* or *Tutur kamoksa* (vid. above) contains rules for a religious life with special directions from the birth of a man up to his death. It frequently prescribes fasting (Ind. *vrata*, *brata*, *votum*). In accordance with those writings not only the *Padandas* regulate their lives, but also the princes and those of rank who aspire to the condition of holiness; they attain, thereby, the dignity of *Resi* (a saint, without sin), and the priests become *Brahmarsi*, the princes *Rajarsi*; the latter of course, as it is natural, in consequence of their birth, rank below the former. Every prince must properly aim at this dignity,

"lawsuit," "process." *Wichedaka* from *wichheda* "separation," "disjunction," "dividing," "cutting;" from it is derived *wichedaka* "one who divides, separates;" thus in the case of a suit he with whom the judging and decreeing rests; the whole composition thus signifies a judge. To this comes *sang w'nang mamgatakên wiwadaning sarva jana*, "one who has authority to settle minor differences among the whole nation" (thus juge de paix). From this it would appear that the Brahmins have jurisdiction, criminal and civil, which is also noticed by Raffles. In *Bali* notwithstanding, only a few of the judges belong to the caste of the Brahmins, in *Badong* only one. The supreme judge in *Pam'chuttan* is a Brahman; the others are eligible from all castes, and are generally *Sudras* who are well acquainted with the common law-books, the *Âgama* and *Adigama*. In spiritual affairs the *Panditas* are the judges, in political affairs the princes.

¹ *Sabâ* (aula regia), the Indian name for the Court of the princes, which in Java has, by the prefix *pa* and the affix *an*, been changed into *pasêban*, which also by its form answers to the open place of audience of the princes.

² The *Sivasâsana* or *Purwadigamasâsana* is thus the law-book for all the Brahmins, in the cities as well as in the country, and for those in whose hands the jurisdiction is deposited as well as for the rest. It is not, however, applicable in the decision of the lawsuits of persons belonging to one of the three lower castes.

and the *abiseka* "the anointing" of the chief prince is dependent upon it. By becoming *Resi* and by the *Abiseka*, not only the dignity of the prince is raised, but he is, thereby, as it were, received into the caste of the Brahmans; —the like rule is also observed in India. The predecessor of the last Sovereign of Pam'chuttan was *Resi*, and had received the *Abiseka*; even as the former *Deva Agung*s. At present there is no prince of Balî who has received the *Abiseka*. The *Râjâ Kassiman*, however, aims at the dignity of *Resi*.

MALAT.

The *Malat* contains the history of the celebrated hero *Panji*; who had his adventures on Bali also. The work is as voluminous as the *Râmâyana*; it is however not written in the *Kawi* measure or language, but in *Kidung*, which means the newer Java-Balinese measure. The subjects contained in it are exhibited to the public in the *Gambuh* (dramatic performances by men, who speak themselves). The same is the case with the *Râmâyana*. The *Bârata Yudda* and *Wiwâha* are represented in the *Wayang Kulit* in the same manner as on Java. Of the Indian drama nothing seems to have found its way into this island. The names of the most famous of the Indian dramas are unknown there. The tale of the *Sakuntala* is known from one of the *Parvas*, and the original narration we find also in India in the *Mahâbhârata*. But the magnificent drama *Sakuntalâ* of *Kâlidasa* is not known. The reason of this is, probably, that most of the Indian dramas are of late times, and, perhaps, at the time the Brahmans came to Java, were exclusively found at the courts of the princes of *Ujayinî*, *Câshmir*, *Ayodyâ*, etc., so that the Brahmans could not be acquainted with them. Besides, the drama forms no part of the sacred literature, and the Brahmans might have neglected it for that reason.

RELIGION.

The religion of Bali, as is well known, is the Hindu, and in fact the two great Indian creeds, the Brahmanical and the Buddhist, exist there. The adherents of the latter are few in number, and live in *Karang-Assem* in the dessa of *Buddha Kling* (Crawfurd) and in *Gianyar*, in *Batuan*. These Buddhists, whom no European has ever visited, appear, however, to hold a modified form of religion. Crawfurd remarks that the people of *Boleleng* had spoken rather contemptuously of the Buddhists, but I have not noticed this in the southern part of Bali. It is true they are said to be allowed to eat all kinds of animals, cows for example, which the worshippers of Siva are forbidden to eat, and dogs and other unclean things, but they are not accused of actually eating them. As for the relations between Sivaism and Buddhism, the Panditas state that Buddha is Siva's youngest brother, and that the two sects exist peacefully side by side, although the Buddhists do not worship Siva, and the Sivaites do not adore Buddha. In the form of worship, however, an intermixture of the two religions is apparent, for on great feasts, *e.g.* the *Panchawalikrama*, a priest of Buddha is invited to join the four Panditas of Siva, and performs his devotions *sitting towards the south*, while the other four throughout the service sit towards the remaining cardinal points, and in the middle. At the cremation of princes, moreover, the holy water from a Sivaitic Pandita is mingled with that of a Pandita of Buddha, and is used in this form by the worshippers of Siva. The intermixture of the two religions is also shown by the frequent mention of Buddha in the Kawi writings, and by the Buddhist composers of these writings, these works being also held in honour by the Sivaites. This, however, applies more to Java, whence all those writings came, but it is partly applicable to Bali also. So much is certain, that the Buddhists in Bali (and in earlier times in Java) were not fanatics, and that they left the Hindu Pantheon undisturbed, whilst they worshipped Buddha as the only true God.

SIVAITES.

The great majority of the Balinese hold the Brahmanical belief, and belong to the sect of Siva. There is no trace of the other sects (Wishnuites) in Bali, and the worship of Siva has absorbed, as it were, that of all other gods of the Hindu Pantheon. The religion may be divided into the *private worship of the priests* and the *public worship of the people*.

THE DOMESTIC WORSHIP OF THE PRIESTS.

The domestic rites of the Panditas remind us of the ancient Veda-worship of the Indian Brahmans, and in fact owes its origin to it. In old times the Brahmans in India did not worship *the gods of the people*; Brahma, Wishnu or Siva, and all the rest of the gods connected with them, had no existence for those men—they adored the celestial bodies, especially the *sun*, and *fire (Agni)* and various stars. The domestic worship of the Brahmans in Bali has also the sun for its object, and is called *suryasevana* (worship of the sun); it is performed without temples or idols and with but few offerings. Upon asking what the sun meant, I was told that it was Siva, and therefore we may presume that the Brahmans no longer hold the ancient faith, and have adopted the ordinary service of Siva. Siva, however, has become so idealized, at any rate by the Brahmans, that he may very well be identified with the supreme (solar) deity, and in the popular creed of India Siva is also the representative of fire, and bears the sun as a third eye in his forehead. We, therefore, adhere to the hypothesis, that *the Brahmans in Bali have preserved the ancient worship of the Indian Brahmans, which is based on the Vedas alone, and takes but little or no notice of the gods of the people*, and that, although they conduct and regulate the worship of the popular gods, they do not themselves take part therein.

I have been permitted to see the domestic devotions of a Padanda. They are performed between nine and eleven

o'clock in the morning, on a fasting stomach, and are obligatory at least at full and new moons, in addition to which most Panditas perform them on every fifth day (*Kaliwon*, according to the Polynesian week of five days). Especially holy priests, and those of high rank, such as the *Padanda Made Alèng Kachèng* in *Taman Intaran*, observe them daily. On ordinary days, however, the service is not so long as on *Kaliwon*, and on this day again it is shorter than at full and new moons. On the latter occasions, too, the priest is arrayed in his full vestments. The place of worship is a *Bale*, in one of the priest's inner courts. The portion of the *Bale*¹ where the ceremony takes place is surrounded on three sides with a lattice-work of bamboo; that of my *Padanda* was only open to the west. The *Padanda* is clothed in white, with the upper part of the body naked, after the Balinese-Indian manner. He sits with his face to the east, and has before him a board upon which stand several small vessels containing water and flowers, some grains of rice, a pan with fire, and a bell. He then mumbles, almost inaudibly, some words or prayers from the *Vedas*, dipping the flowers into the water and waving them and a few grains of rice before him (towards the east) with the forefinger and thumb of his right hand, whilst at the same time he holds up the pan containing fire. After having proceeded with his prayers for some time, during which he makes all kinds of motions with his fingers and turns his rosary, he appears to be inspired by the deity; Siva has, as it were, entered into him; this manifests itself in convulsions of the body, which grow more and more severe, and then gradually cease. The deity having thus entered into him, he no longer sprinkles the water and flowers towards the east alone, but also towards his own body, in order to pay homage to the deity which has passed into it. The bells are not used in the ordinary daily worship, but only at the full and new moons and cremations.

By this ceremony the *Padanda* is completely purified;

¹ The names of the *Bale* are: *Yasa*, *Mahantèn*, *Mahari*, *Boat*; the holy water is called *Sevamba*, i.e. *sâiva* and *ambhas*, "water of Siva."

all his actions, even the partaking of earthly food, are holy. He then eats (but only once in the day); while he is doing so no one but his children, who wait upon him, may approach, and they keep silence. The remains of his food are like *Amrēta* (Ambrosia), and are eagerly solicited and consumed by those present—including the princes, if they have a Pandita in their house, or happen to be in his house. The water which the Pandita has used during his devotions is looked upon, in accordance with the *Vedas*, as holy; it is called *toya tirta* (water of a holy place), and is bought by the people for their purifications, for sprinkling corpses and for offerings. This is one of the sources of income to the Panditas. In addition to his domestic worship, he performs the public religious ceremonies (see below), and conducts the cremations and the offerings for the departed. In his own house, moreover, he occupies himself with the *Vedas*, with the sacred and the common Kawi literature; he teaches his children and those (chiefly princes and men of rank) who come to him as pupils. He is also the people's astronomer and astrologer, and alone knows how to regulate the calculation of time according to the different divisions of the year (see the Balinese Calendar). Finally, he consecrates the weapons. Every new weapon to be wrought is brought to him before the operation: he places some mysterious signs upon it, especially the word *Ong* (*om*), and until this has been done, the weapon is of no value or power. When the weapon is quite finished, the owner makes offerings and the Pandita reads the *Vedas* over it to insure its effectiveness.

RELIGION OF THE PEOPLE.—PLACES OF WORSHIP.

The chief places of worship are the *sad-kahyangan* (the six temples)—so-called *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. They are all dedicated, under various names, to Siva. The principal and oldest temple, the founding of which is narrated in the *Usana Bali*, is (1) in *Basuki*, at the foot of the *Gunung-Agung*, the holy mountain in *Karang-Assem*; the name of the deity is *sang Purnajaya*, and his weapon *tuak* (a sword-like creese).

(2). *Watu Kahu* in *Tabanan*, at the foot of the peak of *Tabanan*, called *Barattan* or *Watu Kahu*; the name of the deity is *sang Jayaningrat*, the weapon *panah* (bow).

(3). *Uluwatu*, on the point of the table-land (*bukit*) in *Badong*, picturesquely situated above the sea, over which the rock on which the temple stands projects. This temple is the *prahu* of *Dewi Danu*. The deity worshipped here is *sang Manik Kumawang* (the brilliant precious-stone); his weapon is *tumbak* (lance). The access is difficult, through rocks and wild places. The temple can only be approached with the sovereign.

(4). *Yeh Jeruk* (*Jeruk*-water) in *Gianyar*, in the interior, in the Kampong of *Narangkana*; the deity is *sang Putra Jaya* (the prince of victory); the weapon *pedang* (sword).

(5). *Giralawa*, in *Klongkong*, on the coast; the deity is *Sanging Jaya* (the triumphant one); the weapon is *sambuk* (whip).

(6). *Pakendungan*, in *Tabanan*, on the coast. The name is *sang Manik Kaleba* (*kaleba*=*dumilah*, brilliant); the weapon *duung* (sword-like creese).

These are the principal temples, in which the rulers make offerings for the whole people. In *Uluwatu*, the feast-day is the 21st of the Balinese year; in *Basuki*, on the full moon of the month *Kapat* or *Karttika* (in September or October). A few other places, although of less consequence than those already mentioned, are of special importance.

(1). *Sakennan*, on the island *Serangan*, belonging to *Badong*. The deity worshipped is *sang hyang Indra*; his weapon is the *bajra* (Sanskrit *wajra*), which really means lightning, but according to the drawing corresponds to the so-called thunderbolt. His feast is on the 11th day after the Balinese new-year.

(2). *Jempul*, in *Bangli*, also with *Indra* as its deity.

(3). *Rambot Sawi* in *Jembrana*, near the frontier of *Tabanan*.

(4). *Samantiga*; and (5). *Këntêl Gumi*, both in *Gianyar*. It is not known what deities are worshipped in the last three. These places are sacred through the supernatural power which issues from the gods adored there.

We have besides in each *desa* one or more *Panatarans* (*natar*, a court; the offerings to *Durgâ*, *Kâla* and the *Butas* are placed upon the ground, in the court). In these *Durga*, the wife of the malignant *Kâla*, and the chief of the *Butas* or *Râksasas* (evil spirits), is worshipped. The worship of these latter occupies the people almost more than that of the beneficent gods, for the pernicious influence of these beings must be guarded against in all sorts of ways, whereas the beneficent gods are more easily propitiated. Other temples are called *Puri* and *Pangastanan*; the former are, principally, for persons of the highest rank, and the latter for the people; here Siva is worshipped with his family. Another name is *Parâryangan*, an assemblage of temples for all the gods and *Pitaras* (the shades of the dead). The small temple-houses are called *Kahyangan*, place for a deity (*Hyang*). To these belong also the *Sadkahyangan*. Finally, there is in every house a number of small temples, called *Sanggar* (in Crawford *Sangga*). Among these there is a *Meru*, a temple with several roofs one above the other, rising up in the form of a pyramid, dedicated to Siva. The rest of the small temples are mostly devoted to the service of the *Pitaras*. The house-temples of the princes are of some importance and costliness, but they are not built in the best taste. Among these, besides the *Merus*, which are of wood, we find also the pyramidal erections of stone. *Padmāsana* (the *Padmāsana* must be dedicated to the sun; Siva is the sun), the apex of which is truncated and provided with a sort of stool, upon which incense is burnt to Siva, in his three forms, viz. *Sadâ-Siva*, *Parama-Siva* and *Mahâ-Siva* (the incense being of three sorts: *M'nyan*, *Madyagawu* and *Chandana*); and *Chandi*, a complete pyramid, not truncated. Besides these buildings one finds several *Bales*, partly of masonry (*G'dong Chantél*) inlaid with Chinese porcelain and glass-work and ornamented at the back with pictures, and partly of wood (*G'dong Tarik*), upon which the offerings are placed. The *Meru* and *Padmāsana* are chiefly regarded as the seats of the supreme deity; the *Merus* are also provided with *lingas*, which however are, usually, merely of

pointed wood and are fixed in great numbers in the roofs. The extremity of the *Merus* and also of the other small temple-houses is generally covered with an inverted pot or sometimes a glass, a circumstance that reminded me at once of Buddhism, since this seems to represent the dome (or *bubble*) which is the distinguishing feature of all Buddhist temples. The Sivaites, however, will not admit this, but they give no explanation of this ornament. The *linga* is also found in great numbers on the walls surrounding the temples, and here is of stone, shaped like the specimen which I have sent from *Boleleng* to the Batavian Genootschap. The original signification of the *linga* is almost lost; the word now means simply "the most excellent one." In addition to the above, we have temples on the sea-coast, dedicated to the god of the sea, *Baruna*; and further, small houses in the *sawahs* and on the roads, dedicated to *Sri*, the consort of *Siva*; in the latter the passers-by strew a few grains of rice, if they have any with them.

THE GODS WORSHIPPED.

In India, according to the popular belief, Brahma, Wishnu and Siva, or the *Trimurti* (Trinity), are the supreme gods. It is well known that the Brahmans, originally the first caste, pay but little honour to these gods, and that the *Vedas* place other deities above them—Wishnu and Siva, indeed, playing a very subordinate part therein. The popular creed is further subdivided into two great sects, the one worshipping Wishnu, and the other Siva, as its principal deity. In India, also, Brahma is not made the object of any special worship; as creator he is neutralized, as it were, for his work of creation is accomplished, while the attention of mortals is absorbed by Wishnu, the *preserver*, and the dreaded Siva, the *destroyer*. It is certain that no Wishnuites ever came to Bali, nor probably to ancient Java. The only idols in Java which undoubtedly represent Wishnu are mostly found in conjunction with Siva, and, it would appear, are merely added to make the

retinue of the latter god larger and more splendid. It may be safely asserted that Wishnu has nowhere been the chief object of worship.

In Bali all the characteristics, names and attributes of Wishnu are given to Siva; he combines in himself the power of all gods, all others being as it were but other forms of himself. Siva is the highest invisible firmament (*ākāśa*), or dwells alone in the heart; Brahma, *fire, which through smoke, becomes water or Wishnu*. Hence it is also that a Padanda is called Siva; if Siva were not the all-comprising deity, completely idealized, that designation would not be applicable to these holy men, whose power, through the study of the *Vedas*, is greater than that of the common gods. Siva's heavens are, the *Meru*, *Kailāsa*, *Gunung Agung* (*Swarga* or *Indraloka*; *Wishnuloka* or *Brahmāloka*, and *Sivaloka* are the three heavens rising one above the other).

In the Indian mythology we find several gods (*Wishnu*, *Durgā*, *Ganesa*, *Skanda*, etc.) provided with many arms, to indicate their power. In Bali *four arms are given to Siva alone*, while all the other gods, unless they assume a demoniacal (*Rākṣasa*) shape, have but two arms. Siva also has a third eye in his forehead (signifying in India the sun, but not recognized as doing so here (*mata trinetra*)). His names are: *Paramesvara* (the supreme lord); *Mahesvara* (the great lord); *Mahādeva* (the great god); *Srīkanda* (the throat of eloquence?); *Sudasina* (with pure throne); *Givaka* (meaning uncertain); *Sangkara*, *Garba* (the foetus); *Soma* (the moon); *Wrekanda* (?); *Krēttīwasas* (clothed in a tiger-skin); *Garbadūta* (*garba*, foetus, and *duta*, messenger); *Ganggadara* (he who carries the river *Ganggā* in his hair); *Hara* (he who grasps); *Kāmāri* (the enemy of *Kāma*, the god of love); *Wrēsaketana* (he who has the bull in his standard). *Durjadi*, probably more correctly *Durjati*. *Triambaka* (he who speaks the three *Vedas*); *Kawandi*, *Sarvajña* (the omniscient); *Wiskandi*, *Pisnaki*; *Bāma* (*Wāma*, the left-handed); *Mreda*, *Ugra* (cruel); *Sūli* (he who bears the trident); *Ganasara*, *Ganādīpa* (the lord of hosts); *Īsa* (the lord); *Īsāna* (ditto);

Kandali, *Matsyadurita* (*matsya*, fish, and *durita*, sin); *Pasupati* (the lord of creatures); *Tripurâri* or *Tripurântaka* (the enemy and destroyer of the demon *Tripura*; also *Wishnu*'s name). *Wrêksaketu* (he who has a tree in his standard); *Sambu*, *Srava*, ear, and *Bava*, nature; *Dara* (the holding one); *Krêsnarsa*, *Kusâdi* (he who has the *Kusagrass* as his first attribute); *Saddakaripu* (the enemy of the *Saddaka*); *Sima* (*sima*, whole, or *sîma*, boundary); *Pramesti* or *Paramesti* (the highest); *Nandakawahana* (he who rides on the *Nandi*); *Kâmadahana* (he who has burnt the *Kâma*); *Girîsa* (the lord of speech); *Pravesada*, *Sâli* (domestic?); *Jîvâtma* (the soul of life); *Îsvânukara*, *Pitambara* (covered with a yellow garment); *Berawa* (*Bhairawa*, the terrible one, also a subordinate deity in the demon-shape). *Nilakanta*, and *Nilalohita* (with a dark blue throat, from drinking the poison that comes forth from the troubled sea); *Sani* (*sani*, the name of the planet Saturn, and *sani*, worship); *Îswara* (the lord); *Drêstaketu* (with plainly-visible standard); *Umâpati* (consort of the *Uma*); *Chaturbujâ* (with four arms).

Part of the manuscript of the *Chantaka-Parva* was wanting here, but many more names were mentioned to me from memory. *Siva* appears to have in all not less than a thousand names in Bali, as in India. The following are further names: *Bima* (he who is to be feared); *Rudra* (also a special class of eleven gods of this name); *Bawa* (nature); *Kapâlabrêt* (he who wears a skull-chain); and finally *Jaganata* (the lord of the world). This last name always means *Wishnu* in India, but, in Bali, *Siva* is the supreme and almost the only god, and thus *Wishnu*'s principal name is given here to *Siva*.

SIVA'S ATTRIBUTES.¹

These are different in his various forms and temples. He has the rosary (*guduha genitri*, Sansk. *akṣamāla*); the fan

¹ *Siva* became incarnate as *Arjuna Wichaya*. His wife *Dewi Yajñawati* commits suicide upon hearing a false report of the death of her husband, and at the prayer of the holy *Pulascha* is called to life by sang hyang *Sagara* (the ocean) by means of *Mrêtasanjivana* (life-giving Ambrosia).

(*ubas-ubas*, Sansk. *châmarâ*). These two symbols represent him as a penitent. He has further the *trisûla* (the pointed trident, to be distinguished from the trident without points, which, e.g. the *Bagawan Trênawindu* in the Batavian Society's Collection carries, and which the Balinese call *Tekan*. Both tridents stand with their points upwards; the inverted trident (of *Wishnu*) I have not yet met with. Siva also has in Bali, as in Java, the *Padma* (the lotus), which in India belongs to *Wishnu*; this, however, is not regarded as the lotus-flower, but as a weapon. We have already mentioned other symbols of Siva in the *Sadkahyangan*, namely, *Tuak*, a sword-like creese; *panah*, the bow; *tumbak*, the lance; *p'dang*, a sword; *sambuk*, a whip; and *duung*, a sort of creese. With the exception of the creeses, all these symbols are also Indian, and belong to Siva in India; the creese, however, is purely Polynesian. The bow and the sword proper are not used in Bali, and which are only known there from the religion and the writings.

From Siva is to be distinguished *Kâla*; originally they were one and the same, but Siva is the bright (white) god of light, while *Kâla* is the dark (black), terrible and destroying one. *Kâla* is worshipped, with *Durga* and the *Butas*, in the *Panatarans* and in the houses. The feast of *Bayakâla*, the day before the Balinese new-year, is dedicated to him, and he must be propitiated by bloody offerings. The offerings placed daily before the houses and in the niches of small pillars, or in the walls, are also intended for him and the *Bûtas*.

Siva's consort is *Umâ*. This is one of the many names of this deity, but not the principal one in India. In Bali it is used more commonly than *Pârvatî*; she is also called *Giriputri* (daughter of the mountain; *Pârvatî* has the same meaning). *Durgâ* is distinct from her, as *Kâla* is from Siva. (*Durgâ* in conflict with *Mahisâsura* does not appear in Bali.) She is also called *Devî Ganggâ* and *Devî Danu* (the goddess of the mountain lake; this great mountain lake lies in the midst of the great Balinese range of mountains) [Us. Bali, p. 274]; in this character she is worshipped on the *Gunung*

Batur, which rises from the middle of a mountain lake (*Danu*, Jav. *ranu*), and she is regarded as the cause of eruptions and of the overflowing of the waters which is indispensable for the cultivation of rice. As goddess of the rice-fields she is called *Srī* (in India *Wishnu's* wife is called *Laksmī*, who here is also Siva's wife) and has her temples on the *sawahs* and on the roads between them. She is also worshipped along with Siva. The same applies to *Ganesa*, who possesses no temples and but few images in Bali. On account of his mis-shapen form, he is not beloved.

Brahma, like *Wishnu*, has no special temples; on great festivals, small temple-houses are erected for both deities, when offerings are made to all the gods, but after the festival these are taken down again. The following are other names for *Brahma*: *Chaturmuka* (provided with four faces); *Prajāpati* (the lord of created beings, the creator); *Padmayoni* (born out of a lotus; he is supposed in the Indian Mythology to have come forth out of a lotus which rises to the surface of the sea out of the navel of *Wishnu* as *Nārāyana*, resting upon the bottom of the sea). According to the Balinese conceptions, he has only one head; if he is represented with more than one head, with four arms and other extraordinary limbs, he is to be regarded as *Brahma-mūrti* or as a *Rākṣasa* (*mūrti*, the body, form, figure, does not precisely express this idea). The same is true of *Wishnu* and other gods. *Brahma*, the creator, has been deprived of all his distinguishing features; he has no temples either in India or in Bali, and he is entirely subordinated to Siva, the supreme deity, and although he appears in the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* as the creator of the latter, Siva, when once created, possesses far greater power than *Brahma* the creator. *Brahma* and *Wishnu* are looked on in Bali as emanations or forces of Siva, and as related to each other; *Brahma* represents fire, *Wishnu* water; the fire through smoke is changed into water, and so *Brahma's* force passes into that of *Wishnu*. Siva himself has the *ākāśa*, the highest firmament, as his element, and he dwells in the hearts of the

purified.¹ (See as to *Sadâ*, *Prama*, *Mahâ Siva*, Us. Bali, p. 337.) Brahma's symbol is the *danda* (staff); a staff is carried by the Brahmans, if they become Panditas, and hence it is that they are called Padandas, "provided with a staff." The *danda*, however, is also regarded as a weapon, and includes the idea of punitive justice.

Brahma's wife is *Saraswati*, the goddess of eloquence; she too has no special temples, but she has a feast-day in each Balinese year, in the week of *Watu Gunong*, on the day of *Saneschara Manis* (Saturday). On this day all the Manuscripts are brought into the house-temples and consecrated; the old prince Kassiman brings his in procession to *Gunong rata* (his country residence); a *Pandita* is called upon, and reads the *Vedas* over the manuscripts, whereby their holiness is renewed. At the same time offerings of rice, kwe-kwe, *sirih*, etc., are made to the goddess, and the floor of the temple is sprinkled with holy water. *Saraswati*'s names, according to the *Chantaka-Parva*, are: *Bagi* (bhaga, knowledge); *Bâsa* (language); *Gîwa*, *Gîwasa*, *Veda* (Science); *Widâyana* (*widâ*, knowledge, *ayana*, road); *Baradi*, *Yani*, *Sâstrawit* (the learned in writings); *Sudewi* (the good goddess); *Dari* (the holder); *Sumari*, *Ganggadari* (she who holds the *gangga*); *Prajñadari* (she who holds learning); *Kastawit*, *Darjimandari*, *Nilasiki*, *Satradana*.

Wishnu is scarcely worshipped at all in Bali; as god of water less honour is paid to him than to *Baruna*, although the latter is a sea-god of inferior rank. The principal temples on the sea-coast are dedicated to *Siva*; we have already spoken of the erection of a temple for *Wishnu* on festivals. *Wishnu* is nevertheless an important personage to the Balinese; in his various incarnations he is the hero of most of the Kawi works; it might be said that *Siva is the high and invisible, Wishnu the incarnate god*, who has acquired infinite fame by his deeds on earth, and whose conduct serves as an example for all the actions of princes and people. His names, although better known from the Kawi writings than

¹ *Sadâ-Siva* (the eternal *Siva*) is a well-known name for *Siva* in India, not for *Brahma*.

from religious worship, are as follow: *Nârâyana* (he who floats upon or in the waters); *Sori* (*Sauri* also a name for the planet *Saturn*); *Chakrapâni* (he whose hand is armed with the *Chakra*); *Janârdana* (he who is plagued by men with prayers); *Padmanâba* (he who has a lotus-navel; see *Brahma Padmayoni*); (the holy) *Kêsi*; *Kesa* (the fine-haired); *Wekunta* (*Wâikunta*, the careless one); *Wistara* (collection?); *Srawa* (*srawa*, the ear?); *Indrâwaraja* (the younger brother of *Indra*); *Gorinda* (a name for *Krêśna* as a cowherd); *Garuda-dvaja* (he who has the *Garuda* in his standard); *Kesawa* (*Kesa*); *Pundarikâksa* (the lotus-eyed); *Krêśna*, *Pîtâmbara* (with a yellow garment; *Siva* also is so named above); *Wisvaksena* (*wiswak*, everywhere, *sênâ*, an army; whose army reaches everywhere). *Svabû* (self-born); *Sangkhi* (he who has the *Sangkha*, shell-trumpet); *Danavara* (perhaps *Danavâri*, the enemy of the *Danawas*, the demons); *Hanoksaja*, (?) *Wrêksa* (this must be *wrêsha*, the bull, also a name for *Wishnu*); *Kapi* (the ape); *Basudeva* (*Wasudeva*, the father of *Krêśna*, literally "the god of riches," or *Wâsudeva*, *Krêśna*); *Mâdawa* and *Madusûdana* (the conqueror of the demon *Madu*). These names are given in the *Chantakaparwa* in *slokas*; with a few slight alterations we obtain pure inflected Sanskrit:

Wisnu Nârâyana Sori, Chakrapâni Janârdanah
 Padmanâba Resi Kesah, Wekunta Wistara Srawa
 Indrâwaraja Hupendrah, Gohvinda Garudadvaja
 Kesawah Pundarikâksah, Krêśnah Pîtâmbaroçatah
 Wisvaksenah Svabû Sangkhî, Danawara Hanoksajah
 Wresah Kapi Basudevah, Mâdawa Madusûdana.

Besides these, his *avatars* are well known, viz. *Matsya*, fish; *Warâha*, wild pig; *Kûrma*, tortoise. To these must be added two local ones, not known in India, viz. *Pati Gaja Madda*, founder of the *Karang-Asem* family, and the cock *Siling-sing*, the apotheosis of cock-fighting. *Parta* and *Maruta* also are incarnations of *Wishnu*, slain by *Râvana*. The following are yet other names for *Wishnu*: and *Wâmana* and *Tripurântaka* (the dwarf and the conqueror of the demon *Tripura*;

the latter name we have also found to belong to Siva, and it has reference to the five *Avatara*; *Narasinha*, man-lion (in the fourth *Avatāra*); *Rāma* (in the seventh *Avatāra*); *Puru-sottama* (the most excellent of men, with reference to his numerous incarnations). His symbols are in the first place the *chakra sudarsana* (the disc, which, being well slung by him, penetrates everything, and returns to him); and then the *sanghka* (the shell-trumpet), the *gadā* (club), *danda* (the staff, also belonging to Siva and Brahma); the same applies to the *tuak* (a sword-like creese, which in one of the *sadkah-yangans* belongs to Siva as a distinguishing symbol). In images of Wishnu and Brahma we also find a circular mark on the forehead; this is a third eye, but appears to point to the Indian *tilaka*, the mark of the sect. No other remembrance, however, of this *tilaka* (which name is unknown here) has been preserved, and the Balinese seem to draw the mark on the foreheads of the gods in accordance with a tradition which is no longer understood, or endeavour to keep secret the origin of this sect-mark, in order that the form of religion, at present existing, may be regarded by every one as the only and true form. According to the statements of the priests, Wishnu and Brahma are invoked in the *Vedas*, and do indeed appear in the Indian *Vedas*, although as gods of a very inferior rank; if they play a higher part in the *Vedas* of Bali, we should again be compelled to entertain some doubts as to the authenticity and originality of these *Vedas*.

Wishnu's wife is *S'rî*. We have already met with Siva's consort under the name *S'rî*, as protector of the rice-fields and goddess of fertility. According to Indian ideas, this is always Wishnu's wife; but just as many of the names and attributes of Wishnu are in Bali given also to Siva, so *S'rî*, originally the consort of Wishnu, appears in Bali as one of the names of Siva's wife. We have already said that Wishnu and Brahma are but other forms of Siva; and so also their wives belong, as special forces (*S'rî*, goddess of fertility; of abundance; *Saraswatî*, goddess of eloquence and learning), to Siva the supreme deity. *Laksmî* is unknown as a name for Wishnu's wife. As Wishnu's consort,

she has no special temples. The mark on her forehead, and on that of Saraswatî, is called *peryasana*, derived probably from *yasa*s, Jav. *yasa*, *fame*, and in that case meaning *excellence*; the signification of this word, however, is not clear, and upon asking whether this were the sect-mark (*Tilaka*), I was answered in the negative.

We have thus found that the three supreme gods of the popular creed of the Hindus are looked upon as expressions of one and the same force, are worshipped together, and regarded, as it were, as one being. Siva in the popular belief also is almost the sole god; the inferior gods, with Indra at their head, are his lesser forces. The different names of the gods mean for the ignorant people, it is true, as many different gods, but the priests hold other views.

We will here say a few words respecting Indra and the inferior gods, and will then give an enumeration of the gods, as, according to the *Brahmândapurâna*, they were created.

Indra. This deity, the prince of the *Devas*, that is, of the subordinate gods, who require the *Amreta* to keep them alive, and who are often brought into danger and vanquished by doers of penance and giants, has, singularly enough, special temples in Bali. *Sakennan* in the island of *Serangan* in *Badong*, and *Jempul* in *Bangli*, we have, already, become acquainted with as such. The explanation of this we think is, that our Sivaitic sect has succeeded in making Wishnu (and Brahma) of little importance, and in causing him to be regarded as a part, an emanation or force of Siva, but did not find it necessary to deprive of his worship the popular Indra, the example of princes, who is glorified in so many poems. Indra could never be inimical to the consequence of Siva, and was therefore harmless to the imported Sivaism, and, by allowing him temples, the prejudices of his devotees were perhaps spared from a blow. His temples and attributes are even of considerable importance. He has also the third eye. The following are among his names: *Satakratu* (worshipped with 100 offerings); *Trinetra* (provided with three eyes, like Siva); *Sahasranetra* (provided with a thousand eyes; these are the stars, Indra himself the

visible heavens, while the higher, invisible firmament, *ākāśa*, represents Siva); *Devarāja* (the king of the *Devas* or subordinate gods); *Sachāpati*, the husband of *S'achī*.

His weapon is the *bajra* (*wajra*, lightning; here, however, represented as a kind of weapon in the form of a thunder-bolt).

Indra's wife is *S'achī*, only remarkable on Indra's account.

The eight gods of the cardinal points (*Lokapāla*) are named very frequently in the writings; in the religious worship they are less prominent. In the *Rāmāyana*, lout. 181, these eight gods are enumerated as follows: *Indra*, *Yama*, *Sūrya*, *Chandra*, *Anila*, *Kuvera*, *Baruna*, *Agni*. We meet with the same names again in India, only *Nirriti* appears there instead of *Sūrya*, and *Īśāni* instead of *Chandra*. The order in which they stand, beginning with the east and going round by the south, is however different, and in India is tolerably fixed: *Indra* in the East, *Agni* N.E.; *Yama* S.; *Sūrya* (or *Nirriti*) S.W.; *Varuna* W.; *Wāyu* (or *Marut*, *Pavana*, and in Bali *Anila*, all meaning *wind*) N.W.; *Kuvera* N.; *Chandra* (or *Īśāni*) N.E. *Usana* Bali, p. 261, gives the eight cardinal points thus: (1). *Pūrva* East; (2). *Gneha* S.E.; this is *Agneya* (*Wilson*, "the South-East quarter") to be derived from *Agni*, fire and the god of fire, whose throne is in the south-east; (3). *Daksina* south; (4). *Neriti* (Sansk. *Nairriti*, belonging to the south-west quarter, to *Nirriti*; *Nirriti*, according to some, *Sūrya*, according to others, presides over that point of the compass) S.W.; (5). *Paschima* behind or west; (6). *Wayabya* (Sansk. *Wāyawya*, belonging to *Wāyu*, the wind, compare *Anila*, *Pavana*) N.W.; (7). *Utera*, north; (8). *Esania* (not *Resania*), answering to the Sansk. *āisania* or *āisani*, "belonging to *Īśāni*," N.E. Here, therefore, we have the names of the cardinal points accurately preserved by adjectives derived from the names of the guardian deities; even the less-known *Nirriti* and *Īśāni* are not forgotten. It cannot surprise us, however, that in Bali all the cardinal points are attributed to various forms of Siva, although this alteration seems to be of later date.

Yama and *Baruna* are the only gods besides Indra of any

note in the religious worship ; they also are to some extent identical with Siva. With Indra in his heaven we find the *Warâpsaras* (the most excellent *Apsaras*), and the *Widiâdaras* and *Widiadaris* (male and female spirits), as well as the *Resis* ; the last are the human beings who have become gods, after having attained, through a holy life, to Indra's heaven ; his heaven is called *Scarga*, or *Indraloka*, and is the ideal of a royal dwelling ; the descriptions of it agree with the Indian accounts. Even this heaven and its inhabitants are not safe from the attacks of foes (see the *Wiwâha*, the combat between Indra and Ravana [the latter is called *Indrajît*, the vanquisher of Indra] ; and other myths) ; its inhabitants are also liable to become human again, at least they require the *Amrêta* in order to preserve their divine power. Indra's heaven lies beneath that of Wishnu (and Brahma), and the latter beneath that of Siva. It is not until it reaches Siva's heaven that the soul attains the repose and release of transmigration (*Moksa*). But little is heard in Bali of Wishnu's heaven ; it is known rather from tradition than from religious doctrine. Every man endeavours to reach Siva's heaven (which is to be sought on the *Kailasa*, the *Meru*, or the *Gunung Agung*, in Bali, at its highest point) ; but only a *Padanda* appears to have a right to immediate entry therein. The rest of the people have to be satisfied with *Scarga*, Indra's heaven, where they hope to live for ever, entirely after the Balinese manner of living, but without care and with greater splendour. The attainment of the *Scarga* is in some cases immediate ; a *Bela* or *Satia* who follows her husband into the fire, passes into that heaven at once ; a prince, who sacrifices himself and his adherents in defence of his country, goes with all his followers to Indra's heaven, where, probably, they fall again to fighting. Cremations also, if they be accomplished according to rule—which is difficult, as the priests can very easily discover a fault, if they have not been consulted as to all ceremonies, however insignificant—are considered to bring the subject of the cremation to *Scarga*. But this last means of entry is not looked upon as so certain as the two others ; the Balinese say

of several princes that although they were burnt with all proper ceremony, they still wander upon earth in the form of animals (frogs, snakes, etc.). Another obstacle is the judicial power of *Yama*, who judges the dead with strict impartiality in the lower world (*Naraka*). Perhaps the postponement of cremations for two months, and sometimes for several years (up to twenty), has reference to this preliminary judgment by *Yama*, and the punishments imposed by him; here, however, as is the case in most religions, there is a palpable inconsistency: it is believed that *the souls of the dead, provided that no outward observances have been neglected, pass immediately into Svarga*; it is at the same time believed that *the soul must first be judged by Yama* (the Indian *Pluto*, and the lord, *Jehovah*, who, according to the Old Testament, will punish Jewish sinners), and must, for all sins, perform penances which will last millions of years, and which hinder them from reaching *Svarga*. *Doeant theologi meliora!*

Baruna (Sansk. *Varuna*) is the god of the sea; the temples on the sea-coast are dedicated partly to him and partly to Siva. Wishnu also is stated to be a sea-god, or god of water (represented in India on this account with the inverted *trisûla*), but he has no temples either in this or in his other capacities. The subordinate *Baruna*, however, for the same reason as Indra, is not erased from the list of the gods who are worshipped. *Baruna* is sometimes represented as a youth, in the same manner as Indra. He is then distinguished by the *pâsa*. This should really be a sling, with which he catches up the dead bodies, etc., and *Yama* the souls; in Bali, however, the *pâsa*, contrary to the meaning of the word, is a long dart, round which a serpent winds, and which ends in three teeth (like the *trisûla*). *Baruna* has usually a monstrous figure with the head of a *Râksasa*, from which a serpent's tongue projects, and a huge serpent's tail turning upwards, the rest of the body being human. This serpent-form indicates his nature as sea-god. The *deva agun sagara* (*agun* must be *agung*; Crawford, "On the island of Bali," *Asiat. Res.* vol. xiii.) is the same as *Varuna*.

Yama, the god of death and of punitive justice, is identi-

fied with Siva (and *Kāla*); he has no special worship, but Siva is also worshipped under the name of Yama. He is called *sang hyang Dharma* (justice); and *Prêtaraja* (the prince of the departed). His severe punishments (e.g. the boiling of a soul in a copper kettle for thousands of years) are very well known. He is regarded as a god, not as a *Râksasa*, although he has teeth on his cheeks and his forehead (*dangstra*, comp. *Ganesa*), and besides this the well-known tusks of the *Râksasas* (*siyung* or *chaling*); his symbol is the *gaddâ*, club.

The rest of the gods of the cardinal points have as it were no worship. *Sûrya* is the same as Siva, and the worship of the priests is addressed to him; *masuryasewana* (worship of the sun). *Chandra*, the moon, in India an attribute of Siva, did not become known to me as such in Bali, but all principal feasts are regulated according to the full and new moon. To insure success, all great undertakings (offerings, cremations) must be carried out in the first or white half of the moon. *Anila* or *Wâyu* (Bal. *Bayu*) has no worship at all, but is regarded as the vital principle; in fasting (*bratu*) the doer of penance shall live by the *vayu* alone. The *vayu* in its various forms comes also under notice in the healing of the sick. The physician causes his *vayu* to pass into the sick man's body. The Padandas are therefore in great request for curing sick people, because their *vayu* is particularly holy.

Kuvera, the god of riches (Bal. *Kubera*), known only from the myths. Still less is known of *Nirriti* and *Îsânî*. *Agni*, finally, the god of fire, is frequently invoked in the Veda-worship in Bali, as in India, but has no temples and is not worshipped by the people.

To the family of Siva, but still as subordinate gods, belong *Ganesa* and *Kârtikeya* or *Skanda*, his sons. I have not yet become acquainted with the latter in Bali; of *Ganesa* (commonly called *Gana*), on the entrances, there are images of stone (*Ganesa* images are introduced into Bali by *Kabu Ayu*; compare *Abdullah* in the *T. v. N. I.*, 2, 161 seq.) and paintings, all tolerably rude. The stone images are some-

times to be found in the temples of Siva, and Ganesa then appears publicly as a subordinate, attendant deity, very much resembling the *Ráksasas* that keep watch. Special worship and offerings for him are unknown. In literature, however, Gana is as important in Bali as in India. He is the god of learning and of cunning (also of the *orang dagang* and of thieves). He is called *Ganapati*, lord of hosts (he is the leader of the yet inferior gods); *Wináyaka* (the leader, in reference to the same idea); *Sarwáwigna* (from *sarwa*, all, and *awigna*, without obstacle, *i.e.* he who overcomes all obstacles); *Wignakarta* (*vigna*, obstacle, *karta* probably from *krit*, to cut, to solve,—he who removes all obstacles). In the drawings which are made of him, he holds in his right hand the *pustaka*, a book of lontar-leaves, as a symbol of learning. Of the rest of his (Indian) attributes, with the exception of the moon, I have seen or heard nothing. He has an elephant's trunk (*tulali*) and elephant-tusks (*gading*), and also the *dangstra* (which we have found in Yama) on his cheeks and forehead. It is only in Ganesa and Yama that these misformed parts do not indicate a demoniacal nature; they belong otherwise only to the *Bútas* and *Ráksasas*, and to gods who by choice assume demoniacal forms. All the rest of Gana's body is entirely human, and he has only two arms, the reason of which we have already seen above in Siva's case. Independently of the preference given to the worship of Siva, the sole and supreme god, the absence of homage to Ganesa may also be explained by his shape. Everything monstrous is regarded in Bali with a certain repugnance; it is true, the numerous representations of demons conflict with this statement, but then these are the hostile spirits, which are overcome in great measure by the beneficent gods. It is especially remarkable that the form of an elephant is looked upon as unlucky, although I cannot assert that this was always the case. A former prince of *Boleling* kept an elephant and used to ride out upon it; his conduct was universally condemned, and to this is ascribed the fact that this prince was punished by the gods with the loss of his kingdom. The abhorrence of the tiger

is more natural; if tigers make their appearance in a kingdom of Bali, it is believed that that kingdom will speedily fall (come under the dominion of the evil spirits).¹ The rhinoceros, on the contrary, enjoys great honour, although not in life. The *Deva agung* and also the prince of *Lombok* have asked the Netherland Government for one of these animals for great sacrificial festivals; they use the blood and fat for the preparation of various offerings, and the excrementa as medicine.

Kâma, the god of love, and his wife *Ratih*, have, so far as I know, no special temples, but yet are much honoured among this very erotic people. *Kâma* also is again as it were a form of *Siva* (see *Us. Bali*, p. 275). Other names of *Kâma* are *sang hyang Smara* (about equal to the Latin *cura*, for "to be in love"); also *Anangga*, the bodiless, for, according to a myth, *Siva* has burnt his body; and *Manobu*, born in the heart.

Vasuki, the Indian serpent-king, nearly coincides here with *Ananta* (eternity), or *Antabhoga*, the serpent upon which *Wishnu* rests. *Vasuki* also belongs here to *Siva's* retinue; he dwells in the various principal temples in which *Siva* is worshipped (in the *sadkahyangans*). After the time of worship in *Basuki*, at the foot of the *Gunong agung* (which place is named after the same serpent), it is supposed that he goes through the air to *Uluwatu*, the sanctuary on the point of the table-land (in *Badong*), and so round to the other *Kahyangans* as well. He is then to be seen as a fiery streak in the sky. The brightness comes from the precious stones with which his immense head is adorned. Many apparently meaningless fables exist about *Vasuki* (in Bali always called *gasuki*). As yet I have not succeeded in extracting the "sachen aus diesen sagen." I have long thought of a former serpent-worship, especially as a *Padanda* is also called *Bujangga* (serpent), and in the *Usana Java* *Siva*, *Buddha*, and *Bujangga* are called

¹ In the greater portion of Bali tigers do not occur; they swim over to *Jembrana* from *Banyuwangie*, and remain in that nearly uninhabited district and in the mountains of *Tabanan* and *Boleling*. The high cultivation of the country prevents them from spreading further. Their appearance is a sign that men must depart.

sons of *Sang Haji* (*adia*, as it seems to me, "the first"), a circumstance which indicates very strongly the existence of three different forms of worship, viz. the purely Sivaitic, the Buddhistic, and the serpent-worship (?). Of purely Indian myths, that of a former destruction of the serpents, in which *Taksaka*, *Vasuki*, and a third, at the prayer of a penitent, alone were spared, is known in Bali from the books. This sacrifice of serpents (*Sarpayajña*) was accomplished by king *Janamejaya*, the great-grandson of *Arjuna Wijaya* (compare the *Rāksasa-Yajña* of *Bagawan Wassista*). The bird of *Wishnu* *Garuda* is frequently represented in Bali, always in monstrous *Rāksasa* shape, with a beak and wings, but at the same time with tusks; in other respects it has a human body. His parents are *Kasyapa* and *Winata*; *Aruna* is his brother. The most inferior persons of the Indian mythology, such as *Kinnara*, *Kimpurusha*, *Uraga* (serpents), *Detia*, *Dānava*, *Pisācha*, and others, are known in the literature of Bali. For the most part, however, we meet only with the *Gandarvas*, the *Widiadars*, and *Apsaras* in Indra's heaven, and the *Detias* as giants of antiquity; the *Rāksasas* and *Būtas* (real beings, evil spirits) as enemies of mankind and opponents of the beneficent gods, dreaded, yet always to be propitiated.

In the last-mentioned we clearly recognize the principle occurring in all religions, of a good and an evil supreme power, the conflict between which in the Hindu doctrine, it would seem, is never, and never will be, decided. A union, however, of the two powers is clearly apparent in the fact that *Kāla* and *Durgā*, the heads of the *Rāksasas* and *Būtas*, are regarded as no other than *Siva and his wife*, since the gods possess the power to change the latter into *Rāksasas*.

The accounts relating to the *Būtas* are confused; there are a great number of names for a few of them, e.g. *buta Wilis*, *buta Lawehan*;¹ they are also named after the shape which they assume, e.g. *buta hulu asu*, "the buta with a dog's head" (*asu*, Sansk. *śvā*, dog), *buta hulu lembu*, "the buta with the

¹ Also *Klika*, servant of *Durga* (in India *Kālikā* is another name for *Durga*). *Klika* was probably originally the same person as *Durga*.

head of a cow." A collective Balinese name is *dagan*; their haunts are chiefly burial grounds and unclean places, and at night they break into the houses which are not protected from them by means of offerings. With the people in general the *Liaks* are still more common than the *Butas*. The former are human beings, who, by the knowledge of certain *mantras* (magic formularies), can alter their shapes and also render themselves invisible, a bright light, proceeding from the place of the tongue, alone remaining; they are obliged to feed on carcases, and chiefly haunt burial grounds and the places where corpses are kept for cremation. They also take out the entrails of sleepers, so that the person thus robbed must die in a short time. Their mistress is *Rangda ning Gira*, the widow of *Gira*, whose history is found in the *Chalon-Arang* (a *Babad*); she lives on the *Gunung agung*, where the *Liaks* hold their assemblies. Fire-flies, which are very numerous and of large size in Bali, are sometimes said to be *Liaks*; moreover, the accusation of being a *Liak* often affords reasons for declaring a person to be innocent.

(To be continued.)

dassanā odātanibhāsā seyyathā pi vā pana tam vattham Bārāṇaseyyakam ubhatobhāgavimaṭṭham odātam odātavaṇṇam odātanidassanam odātanibhāsam evam eva ajjhattam arūpasaññī eko bahiddhā rūpāni passati odātāni odātavaṇṇāni odātanidassanāni odātanibhāsāni tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmīti evamsaññī hoti, idam aṭṭhamam abhibhāyatanam. Imāni kho Ānanda aṭṭha abhibhāyatanāni.

Aṭṭha kho ime Ānanda vimokhā, katame attha. Rūpī rūpāni passati, ayaṃ paṭhamo vimokho. Ajjhattam arūpasaññī bahiddhā rūpāni passati, ayaṃ duttiyo vimokho. Subhan t' eva adhimutto hoti, ayaṃ tatiyo vimokho. Sabbaso rūpasaññānam samatikkamā paṭighasaññānam atthagamā nānattasaññānam amanasikārā ananto ākāso ti ākāsaññācāyatanam upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ catuttho vimokho. Sabbaso ākāsaññācāyatanam samatikkamma anantam viññāṇam ti viññāṇaṇcāyatanam upasampajja viharati ayaṃ pañcama vimokho. Sabbaso viññāṇaṇcāyatanam samatikkamma n'atthi kiñcīti ākiñcaññāyatanam upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ chaṭṭho vimokho. Sabbaso ākiñcaññāyatanam samatikkamma nevasaññānāsaññāyatanam upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ sattamo vimokho. Sabbaso nevasaññānāsaññāyatanam samatikkamma saññāvedayitanirodham upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ aṭṭhamo vimokho. Ime kho Ānanda aṭṭha vimokhā.

Ekam idāham Ānanda samayaṃ Uruvelāyaṃ viharāmi najjā Nerañjarāya tīre Ajapālanigrodhe paṭhamābhisambuddho. Atha kho Ānanda Māro pāpimā yenāham ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi, ekamantaṃ tṭhito kho Ānanda Māro pāpimā maṃ etad avoca. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā parinibbātu Sugato parinibbānakālo dāni bhante Bhagavato ti. Evaṃ vutte aham Ānanda Māraṃ pāpimaṃ etad avocaṃ. Na tāvāham pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvaka bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visārada bahussutā dhammadharā dhammānudhammapaṭipannā sāmīcipaṭipannā anudhammacārino sakāṃ ācariyakāṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭhāpessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttānikarissanti uppannam

parappavâdam saha dhammena suniggahîtam niggahetvâ sappâtîhâriyam dhammam desessanti. Na tâvâham pâpima parinibbâyissâmi yâva me bhikkhuniyo na sâvikâ bhavissanti viyattâ vinitâ visâradâ bahussutâ dhammadharâ dhammânudhammapaṭiṭṭhannâ sâmicipaṭiṭṭhannâ anudhammacâriṇiyo sakam âcariyakam uggahetvâ âcikkhissanti desessanti paññâpessanti patthapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttânika-rissanti uppannam parappavâdam saha dhammena sunigga-hîtam niggahetvâ sappâtîhâriyam dhammam desessanti. Na tâvâham pâpima parinibbâyissâmi yâva me upâsakâ na sâvakâ bhavissanti viyattâ vinitâ visâradâ bahussutâ dhammadharâ dhammânudhammapaṭiṭṭhannâ sâmicipaṭiṭṭhannâ anudhammacâriṇiyo sakam âcariyakam uggahetvâ âcikkhissanti desessanti paññâpessanti patthapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttânika-rissanti uppannam parappavâdam saha dhammena sunigga-hîtam niggahetvâ sappâtîhâriyam dhammam desessanti. Na tâvâham pâpima parinibbâyissâmi yâva me upâsikâ na sâvikâ bhavissanti viyattâ vinitâ visâradâ bahussutâ dhammadharâ dhammânudhammapaṭiṭṭhannâ sâmicipaṭiṭṭhannâ anudhammacâriṇiyo sakam âcariyakam uggahetvâ âcikkhissanti desessanti paññâpessanti patthapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttânika-rissanti uppannam parappavâdam saha dhammena sunigga-hîtam niggahetvâ sappâtîhâriyam dhammam desessanti. Na tâvâham pâpima parinibbâyissâmi yâva me idam brahmacariyam na iddhañ c'eva bhavissati phîtañ ca vitthârikam bâhujaññam puthubhûtam yâvad eva manussehi suppakâsitan ti.

Idân' eva kho Ânanda ajja Câpâle cetiye Mâro pâpimâ yenâham ten' upasaṅkami upasaṅkamitvâ ekamantaṁ atthâsi ekamantaṁ tthito kho Ânanda Mâro pâpimâ mañ etad avoca. Parinibbâtu dâni bhante Bhagavâ parinibbâtu Sugato parinibbânakâlo dâni bhante Bhagavato, bhâsitâ kho pan' esâ bhante Bhagavatâ vâcâ. Na tâvâham pâpima parinibbâyissâmi yâva me bhikkhû na sâvakâ bhavissanti viyattâ vinitâ visâradâ bahussutâ dhammadharâ dhammânudhammapaṭiṭṭhannâ sâmicipaṭiṭṭhannâ anudhammacâriṇiyo sakam âcariyakam uggahetvâ âcikkhissanti desessanti paññâpessanti patthapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttânika-rissanti uppannam

parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ niggaheṭvā sappātihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantīti. Etarahi kho pana bhante bhikkhū Bhagavato sāvakā viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhammadharā dhammānudhammapaṭipannā sāmīcipaṭipannā anudhammacārino sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggaheṭvā ācikkhanti desenti paññāpenti paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibhajanti uttānikaronti uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ niggaheṭvā sappātihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti, parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā parinibbātu Sugato parinibbānakālo dāni bhante Bhagavato, bhāsitaṃ kho pan' esā bhante Bhagavatā vacā. Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhuniyo . . pe . . yāva me upāsakā . . yāva me upāsikā . . yāva me idaṃ brahmacariyaṃ na iddhañ c'eva bhavissati phītañ ca vitthārikaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthubhūtaṃ yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitaṃ ti. Etarahi kho pana bhante Bhagavato brahmacariyaṃ iddhañ c'eva phītañ ca vitthārikaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthubhūtaṃ yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitaṃ, parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā parinibbātu Sugato parinibbānakālo dāni bhante Bhagavato ti. Evaṃ vutte ahaṃ Ānanda Māraṃ pāpimantaṃ etad avocaṃ. Appossukko tvaṃ pāpima hohi, nañiraṃ Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena Tathāgato parinibbāyissatīti. Idān' eva kho Ānanda ajja Cāpāle cetiye Tathāgatena satena sampajānena āyusañkhāro ossaṭṭho ti.

Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappam tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ ti. Alaṃ dāni Ānanda ma Tathāgataṃ yāci akālo dāni Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yācanāyāti. Dutiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando . . pe . . Tatiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavataṃ etad avoca. Tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappam tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ ti. Saddahasi tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatassa bodhin ti. Evaṃ bhante. Atha kiñ carahi tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāvatatīyakaṃ abhinippīlesīti. Sammukhā me

¹⁵ All four Sinhalese MSS. have accidentally omitted from suppakāsitaṃ to manussehi ³⁰ DSZ omit pe, P has pa.

tañ bhante Bhagavato sutam sammukhâ paṭiggahitam, yassa kassaci Ânanda cattâro iddhipâdâ bhâvitâ bahulikâtâ yânikâtâ vatthukâtâ anuṭṭhitâ paricitâ susamâradhâ so âkañkhamâno kappam vâ tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesam vâ, Tathâgatassa kho Ânanda cattâro iddhipâdâ . . pe . . kappâvasesam vâ ti. Saddahasi tvañ Ânandâti. Evam bhante. Tasmâ ti h' Ânanda tuyh' ev' etañ dukkatañ tuyh' ev' etañ aparaddhañ yañ tvañ Tathâgatena evaṃ olaṛike nimitte kayiramâne olaṛike obhâse kayiramâne nâsakki paṭivijjhitum na Tathâgatañ yâci, tiṭṭhatu Bhagavâ kappam tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam bahujanahitâya bahujanasukhâya lokânukampâya atthâya hitâya sukhâya devamanussânan ti, sace tvañ Ânanda Tathâgatañ yâceyyâsi dve 'va te vâcâ Tathâgato paṭikkhipeyya atha tatiyakam adhivâseyya. Tasmâ ti h' Ânanda tuyh' ev' etañ dukkatañ tuyh' ev' etañ aparaddhañ.

Ekam idâhañ Ânanda samayañ Râjagahe viharâmi Gijjhakûṭe pabbate. Tatra pi kho tâhañ Ânanda âmantesiñ, ramaṇiyañ Ânanda Râjagahañ ramaṇiyo Gijjhakûṭo pabbato, yassa kassaci Ânanda cattâro iddhipâdâ bhâvitâ bahulikâtâ yânikâtâ vatthukâtâ anuṭṭhitâ paricitâ susamâradhâ so âkañkhamâno kappam vâ tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesam vâ, Tathâgatassa kho Ânanda cattâro iddhipâdâ bhâvitâ bahulikâtâ yânikâtâ vatthukâtâ anuṭṭhitâ paricitâ susamâradhâ, âkañkhamâno Ânanda Tathâgato kappam vâ tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesam vâ ti: evam pi kho tvañ Ânanda Tathâgatena olaṛike nimitte kayiramâne olaṛike obhâse kayiramâne nâsakki paṭivijjhitum na Tathâgatañ yâci, tiṭṭhatu Bhagavâ kappam tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam bahujanahitâya bahujanasukhâya lokânukampâya atthâya hitâya sukhâya devamanussânan ti: sace tvañ Ânanda Tathâgatañ yâceyyâsi dve 'va te vâcâ Tathâgato paṭikkhipeyya atha tatiyakam adhivâseyya: tasmâ ti h' Ânanda tuyh' ev' etañ dukkatañ tuyh' ev' etañ aparaddhañ. Ekam idâhañ Ânanda samayañ tatth' eva Râjagahe viharâmi Nigrodhârâme . . pe . . tatth' eva Râjagahe viharâmi Corapapâte . . tatth' eva Râjagahe viharâmi Vebhârapasse Sattapaṇṇiguhâyañ . . tatth' eva Râjagahe viharâmi Isigilipasse Kâlasilâyañ . . tatth' eva Râjagahe viha-

rāmi Sītavane Sappasonḍikapabbhāre . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Tapodārāme . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Veluvane Kalandakanivāpe . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Jīvākambavane . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Maddakucchismiṃ migadāye. Tatra pi kho tāhaṃ Ānanda āmantesiṃ, ramaṇiyaṃ Ānanda Rājagahaṃ ramaṇiyo Gijjhakûṭo pabbato ramaṇiyo Gotamanigrodho ramaṇiyo Corapapāto ramaṇiyā Vebhārapasse Sattapaṇṇiguhā ramaṇiyā Isigilipasse Kālasilā ramaṇiyo Sītavane Sappasonḍikapabbhāro ramaṇiyo Tapodārāmo ramaṇiyo Veluvane Kalandakanivāpo ramaṇiyaṃ Jīvākambavanaṃ ramaṇiyo Maddakucchismiṃ migadāyo, yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulikatā yānikatā vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāradhā, so ākaṅkhamāno kappam vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ vā, Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulikatā yānikatā vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāradhā, ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappam vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ vā ti. Evam pi kho tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatena oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne nāsakkhi paṭivijjhituṃ na Tathāgataṃ yāci, tiṭṭhatu Bhagavā kappam tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam bahujaṇahitāya bahujaṇasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ ti. Sace tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi dve 'va te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhipeyya atha tatiyakam adhivāseyyāti. Tasmā ti h' Ānanda tuyh' ev' etaṃ dukkataṃ tuyh' eva etaṃ aparaddham.

Ekam idāhaṃ Ānanda samayaṃ idh' eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi Udene cetiye. Tatra pi kho tāhaṃ Ānanda āmantesiṃ, ramaṇiyā Ānanda Vesālī ramaṇiyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ, yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulikatā yānikatā vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāradhā so ākaṅkhamāno kappam vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ vā, Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulikatā yānikatā vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāradhā, ākaṅkhamāno

⁸ D Kāla- ¹⁶ At pp. 23, 24 I have wrongly admitted the word so before ākaṅkhamāno ānanda; it has crept into some of the MSS. from the previous sentence (so ākaṅkhamāno kappam) ³¹ DSYZ omit from so ākaṅkhamāno to susamāradhā, I have supplied it from the Burmese MS.

Ânanda Tathâgato kappam vâ tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesam vâ ti. Evam pi kho tvam Ânanda Tathâgatena oḷârike nimitte kayiramâne oḷârike obhâse kayiramâne nâsakki paṭivijjhitum na Tathâgataṃ yâci, tiṭṭhatu Bhagavâ kappam tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam bahujanahitâya bahujanasukhâya lokânukampâya atthâya hitâya sukhâya devamanussânan ti. Sace tvam Ânanda Tathâgataṃ yâceyyâsi dve 'va te vâcâ Tathâgato paṭikkhipeyya atha tatiyakam adhiyâseyya. Tasmâ ti h' Ânanda tuyh' ev' etam dukkataṃ tuyh' ev' etam aparaddham. Ekam idâham Ânanda samayaṃ idh' eva Vesâliyaṃ viharâmi Gotamake cetiye . . pe . . idh' eva Vesâliyaṃ viharâmi Sattambacetiye . . idh' eva Vesâliyaṃ viharâmi Bahuputte cetiye . . idh' eva Vesâliyaṃ viharâmi Sârandade cetiye . .

Idân' eva kho tâham Ânanda ajja Câpâle cetiye âmantesiṃ, ramaṇiyâ Ânanda Vesâlî ramaṇiyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ ramaṇiyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ ramaṇiyaṃ Sattambaṃ cetiyaṃ ramaṇiyaṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ ramaṇiyaṃ Sârandadaṃ cetiyaṃ ramaṇiyaṃ Câpâlaṃ cetiyaṃ, yassa kassaci Ânanda cattâro iddhipādâ bhâvitâ bahulikâtâ yânikâtâ vatthukatâ anuṭṭhitâ paricitâ susamâradhâ so âkaṅkhamâno kappam vâ tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesam vâ, Tathâgatassa kho Ânanda cattâro iddhipādâ bhâvitâ bahulikâtâ yânikâtâ vatthukatâ anuṭṭhitâ paricitâ susamâradhâ, âkaṅkhamâno Ânanda Tathâgato kappam vâ tiṭṭheyya kappâvasesam vâ ti. Evam pi kho tvam Ânanda Tathâgatena oḷârike nimitte kayiramâne oḷârike obhâse kayiramâne nâsakki paṭivijjhitum na Tathâgataṃ yâci, tiṭṭhatu Bhagavâ kappam tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam bahujanahitâya bahujanasukhâya lokânukampâya atthâya hitâya sukhâya devamanussânan ti. Sace tvam Ânanda Tathâgataṃ yâceyyâsi dve 'va te vâcâ Tathâgato paṭikkhipeyya atha tatiyakam adhiyâseyya. Tasmâ ti h' Ânanda tuyh' ev' etam dukkataṃ tuyh' ev' etam aparaddham. Na nu evam Ânanda mayâ paṭigace' eva akkhâtam, sabbe' eva piyehi manâpehi nânâbhâvo vinâbhâvo aññathâbhâvo tam kut' ettha Ânanda labbhâ yaṃ tam jâtaṃ bhûtaṃ saṅkha-

¹⁶ The reading at pp. 23, 24 should be sattambaṃ, though most of the MSS. on those pages have sattambakaṃ in imitation of gotamakaṃ.

tañ palokadhammañ tañ vata mã palujjiti, n' etañ ðhânañ vijjati. Yam kho pan' etañ Ânanda Tathâgatena cattañ vantañ muttañ *pahînañ pañissatthañ ossattho âyusañ-khâro ekamsena vâcâ Tathâgatena bhâsitâ, nacirañ Tathâgatassa parinibbânañ bhavissati ito tiññañ mãsânañ acca-yena Tathâgato parinibbâyissatiti, tañ vacanañ Tathâgato jîvitahetu puna paccâvamiṣṣatiti, n' etañ ðhânañ vijjati. Âyâmañ Ânanda yena Mahâvanañ Kûṭâgârasâlâ ten' upasañkamissâmatî. Evam bhante ti kho âyasmâ Ânando Bhagavato paccassosi.

Atha kho Bhagavâ âyasmatâ Ânandena saddhim yena Mahâvanañ Kûṭâgârasâlâ ten' upasañkami, upasañkamitvâ âyasmantañ Ânandañ âmantesi. Gaccha tvam Ânanda, yâvatikâ bhikkhû Vesâlîni upanissâya viharanti te sabbe upaṭṭhânasâlâyam sannipâtehîti. Evam bhante ti kho âyasmâ Ânando Bhagavato paṭissutvâ yâvatikâ bhikkhû Vesâlîni upanissâya viharanti te sabbe upaṭṭhânasâlâyam sannipâdetvâ yena Bhagavâ ten' upasañkami, upasañkamitvâ Bhagavantañ abhivâdetvâ ekamantañ atthâsi, ekamantañ ðhito kho âyasmâ Ânando Bhagavantañ etad avoca. Sannipatito bhante bhikkhusaṅgho yassa dâni bhante Bhagavâ kâlañ maññatiti. Atha kho Bhagavâ yena upaṭṭhânasâlâ ten' upasañkami, upasañkamitvâ paññatte âsane nisîdi, nisajja kho Bhagavâ bhikkhû âmantesi. Tasmâ ti ha bhikkhave ye vo mayâ dhammâ abhiññâya desitâ te vo sâdhukañ uggahetvâ âsevitabbâ bhâvetabbâ bahulikâtabbâ yathayidañ brahmacariyañ addhaniyañ assa ciraṭṭhitikañ, tad assa bahujañahitâya bahujañasukhâya lokâñukampâya atthâya hitâya sukhâya devamanussânañ. Katame ca te bhikkhave dhammâ mayâ abhiññâya desitâ ye vo sâdhukañ uggahetvâ âsevitabbâ bhâvetabbâ bahulikâtabbâ yathayidañ brahmacariyañ addhaniyañ assa ciraṭṭhitikañ, tad assa bahujañahitâya bahujañasukhâya lokâñukampâya atthâya hitâya sukhâya devamanussânañ. Seyyathidañ cattâro satipaṭṭhâna cattâro sammappadhâna cattâro iddhipâdâ pañc' indriyâni pañca

⁷ P paccâg- ²⁵ P abhiññâ ³⁰ P abhiññâ, S abhiññâtâyatâ corrected to abhiññâya, Y abhiññâtâyâ corrected to abhiññâya, Z abhiññâyatâ, D abhiññâtâ.

balāni satta bojḥhaṅgā ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo. Ime kho bhikkhave dhammā mayā abhiññāya desitā, te vo sādhukena uggahetvā āvevatabbā bhāvetabbā bahulikātabbā yathayidaṁ brahmacariyaṁ addhaniyaṁ assa ciraṭṭhitaṁ, tad assa bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṁ ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi. Handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo, vāyadhammā saṅkhārā, appamādena sampādettha, naciraṁ Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṁ bhavissati, ito tiṇṇaṁ māsānaṁ accayena Tathāgato parinibbāyissatīti. Idam avoca Bhagavā, idam vatvā Sugato athāparaṁ etad avoca Satthā,

Paripakko vayo mayhaṁ, parittaṁ mama jīvitaṁ,

Pahāya vo gamissāmi, katam me saraṇaṁ attano,

Appamattā satimanto susilā hotha bhikkhavo,

Susamāhitasāṅkappā sacittam anurakkhatha.

Yo imasmiṁ dhammavinaye appamatto vihessati

Pahāya jātisaṁsāraṁ dukkhass' antaṁ karissatīti.

Tatiyakabhāṇavāraṁ niṭṭhitam.

Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇhasamayāṁ nivāsetvā pattaḍḍhi-varam ādāya Vesālīṁ piṇḍāya pāvīsi, Vesālīyaṁ piṇḍāya caritvā pacchābhattaṁ piṇḍāya paṭikkanto nāgāpalokitaṁ Vesālīṁ apaloketvā āyasmantaṁ Ānandaṁ āmantesi. Idam pacchimakaṁ Ānanda 'Tathāgatassa Vesālīdassanaṁ bhavissati, āyāṁ' Ānanda yena Bhaṇḍagāmo ten' upasaṅkamis-sāmāti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṁ yena Bhaṇḍagāmo tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagavā Bhaṇḍagāme viharati. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi. Catunnaṁ bhikkhave dhammānaṁ ananubodhā appativedhā evaṁ idam dīghaṁ addhānaṁ sandhāvitāṁ saṁsariṭṭaṁ mamañi c'eva tumhākaṁ ca, katamesaṁ

² D abhinñātā, SPZ abhiññā ¹⁹ P reads bhāṇavāraṁ tatiyaṁ (omitting niṭṭhitam).

catunnam. Ariyassa bhikkhave sîlassa ananubodhâ appaṭi-vedhâ evam idaṃ dîgham addhânaṃ sandhâvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañi c'eva tumhâkañi ca, ariyassa bhikkhave samâdhissa ananubodhâ appaṭivedhâ evam idaṃ dîgham addhânaṃ sandhâvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañi c'eva tumhâkañi ca, ariyâya bhikkhave paññâya ananubodhâ appaṭivedhâ evam idaṃ dîgham addhânaṃ sandhâvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañi c'eva tumhâkañi ca, ariyâya bhikkhave vimuttiyâ ananubodhâ appaṭivedhâ evam idaṃ dîgham addhânaṃ sandhâvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañi c'eva tumhâkañi ca. Tayidaṃ bhikkhave ariyaṃ sîlaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ ariyo samâdhi anubuddho paṭividdho ariyâ paññâ anubuddhâ paṭividdhâ ariyâ vimutti anubuddhâ paṭividdhâ, ucchinnâ bhavataṇhâ khîṇâ bhavanetti n' atthi dâni punabbhavo ti. Idam avoca Bhagavâ idaṃ vatvâ Sugato athâparaṃ etad avoca Satthâ,

Sîlaṃ samâdhi paññâ ca vimutti ca anuttarâ,

Anubuddhâ ime dhammâ Gotamena yasassinâ,

Iti buddho abhiññâya dhammam akkhâsi bhikkhunaṃ,

Dukkhaṃ antâkaro Satthâ cakkhumâ parinibbuto ti.

Tatra sudam Bhagavâ Bhaṇḍagâme viharanto etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhûnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti; iti sîlaṃ iti samâdhi iti paññâ, sîlaparibhâvito samâdhi mahapphalo hoti mahânisamsa, samâdhiparibhâvitâ paññâ mahapphalâ hoti mahânisamsâ, paññâparibhâvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva âsavehi vimuccati, seyyathidaṃ kâmasavâ bhavâsavâ ditṭhâsavâ avijjâsavâ ti.

Atha kho Bhagavâ Bhaṇḍagâme yathâbhirantaṃ viharitvâ âyasmantaṃ Ânandaṃ âmantesi. Âyâma' Ânanda yena Hatthigâmo . . pe . . Ambagâmo . . Jambugâmo . . yena Bhoganagaraṃ ten' upasaṅkamissâmi. Evam bhante ti kho âyasmâ Ânando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavâ mahatâ bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṃ yena Bhoganagaraṃ tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagavâ Bhoganagare viharati Ânande cetiye. Tatra kho Bhagavâ bhikkhû âmantesi. Cattâro me bhikkhave mahâpadese desessâmi, taṃ suṇâtha sâdhukaṃ manasikarotha bhâssissâmi. Evam bhante ti kho te bhikkhû

Bhagavato paccassosun, Bhagavā etad avoca. Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya, sammukhā me taṃ āvuso Bhagavato sutāṃ sammukhā paṭiggahitaṃ, ayaṃ dhammo ayaṃ vinayo idaṃ Satthu sāsanaṃ ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhāsitaṃ n'eva abhinanditabbāṃ no paṭikkositaṃ, anabhinanditvā appaṭikkositvā tāni padavyañjanāni sādhukaṃ uggahetvā sutte otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni: tāni ce sutte otāriyamānāni vinaye sandassiyamānāni na c'eva sutte otaranti na vinaye sandissanti niṭṭham ettha gantabbāṃ, addhā idaṃ na c'eva tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ imassa ca bhikkhuno duggahitaṃ ti, iti h' etaṃ bhikkhave chaḍḍeyyātha: tāni ce sutte otāriyamānāni vinaye sandassiyamānāni sutte c'eva otaranti vinaye ca sandissanti niṭṭham ettha gantabbāṃ, addhā idaṃ tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ imassa ca bhikkhuno suggahitaṃ ti: idaṃ bhikkhave paṭhamā mahāpadesaṃ dhāreyyātha. Idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya, amukasmīṃ nāma āvāse saṅgho viharati sathero sapāṃmokkho tassa me saṅghassa sammukhā sutāṃ sammukhā paṭiggahitaṃ, ayaṃ dhammo ayaṃ vinayo idaṃ Satthu sāsanaṃ ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhāsitaṃ n'eva abhinanditabbāṃ no paṭikkositaṃ, anabhinanditvā appaṭikkositvā tāni padavyañjanāni sādhukaṃ uggahetvā sutte otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni: tāni ce sutte otāriyamānāni vinaye sandassiyamānāni na c'eva sutte otaranti na vinaye sandissanti niṭṭham ettha gantabbāṃ, addhā idaṃ na c'eva tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ tassa ca saṅghassa duggahitaṃ ti, iti h' etaṃ bhikkhave chaḍḍeyyātha: tāni ce sutte otāriyamānāni vinaye sandassiyamānāni sutte c'eva otaranti vinaye ca sandissanti niṭṭham ettha gantabbāṃ, addhā idaṃ tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ tassa ca saṅghassa suggahitaṃ ti: idaṃ bhikkhave dutiyaṃ mahāpadesaṃ dhāreyyātha. Idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya, amukasmīṃ nāma āvāse sambahulā therā bhikkhū viharanti bahussutā āgatāgamā dhammadharā vinayadharā mātikā-dharā, tesāṃ me therānaṃ sammukhā sutāṃ sammukhā paṭiggahitaṃ, ayaṃ dhammo ayaṃ vinayo ayaṃ Satthu sāsanaṃ ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhāsitaṃ n'eva

abhinanditabbam na paṭikkositabbam, anabhinanditvâ appaṭikkositvâ tâni padavyañjanâni sâdhukam uggahetvâ sutte otâretabbâni vinaye sandassetabbâni: tâni ce sutte otâriyamânâni vinaye sandassiyamânâni na c'eva sutte otaranti na vinaye sandissanti niṭṭham ettha gantabbam, addhâ idam na c'eva tassa Bhagavato vacanam tesañ ca therânam duggahîtan ti, iti h' etam bhikkhave chaḍḍeyyâtha: tâni ce sutte otâriyamânâni vinaye sandassiyamânâni sutte c'eva otaranti vinaye ca sandissanti niṭṭham ettha gantabbam, addhâ idam tassa Bhagavato vacanam tesañ ca therânam suggahîtan ti: idam bhikkhave tatiyam mahâpadesam dhâreyyâtha. Idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu evam vadeyya, amukasmiñ nâma âvâse eko thero bhikkhu viharati bahussuto âgatâgamo dhammadharo vinayadharo mâtikâdharo, tassa me therassa sammukhâ sutam sammukhâ paṭiggahîtam, ayam dhammo ayam vinayo idam Satthu sâsanam ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhâsitam n' eva abhinanditabbam na ppaṭikkositabbam, anabhinanditvâ appaṭikkositvâ tâni padavyañjanâni sâdhukam uggahetvâ sutte otâretabbâni vinaye sandassetabbâni: tâni ce sutte otâriyamânâni vinaye sandassiyamânâni na c'eva sutte otaranti na vinaye sandissanti niṭṭham ettha gantabbam, addhâ idam na c'eva tassa Bhagavato vacanam tassa ca therassa duggahîtan ti, iti h' etam bhikkhave chaḍḍeyyâtha: tâni ce sutte otâriyamânâni vinaye sandassiyamânâni sutte c'eva otaranti vinaye ca sandissanti niṭṭham ettha gantabbam, addhâ idam tassa Bhagavato vacanam tassa ca therassa suggahîtan ti: idam bhikkhave catuttham mahâpadesam dhâreyyâtha. Ime kho bhikkhave cattâro mahâpadesa dhâreyyâthâti.

Tatra pi sudam Bhagavâ Bhoganagare viharanto Ânande cetiye etad eva bahulam bhikkhûnam dhammim katham karoti, iti silam iti samâdhi iti paññâ, silaparibhâvito samâdhi mahapphalo hoti mahânisamsa, samâdhiparibhâvitâ paññâ mahapphalâ hoti mahânisamsâ, paññâparibhâvitam cittam sammad eva âsavehi vimuccati, seyyathidam kâmasavâ bhavâsavâ ditṭhâsavâ avijjâsavâ ti. Atha kho Bhagavâ Bhoga-

nagare yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Āyāma' Ānanda yena Pāvā ten' upasaṅkamissā-māti. Evama bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṃ yena Pāvā taḍ avasari.

Tatra sudamā Bhagavā Pāvāyaṃ viharati Cundassa kammāraputtassa ambavane. Assosi kho Cundo kammāraputto, Bhagavā kira Pāvāṃ anuppatto Pāvāyaṃ viharati mayhaṃ ambavane ti. Atha kho Cundo kammāraputto yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Cundaṃ kammāraputtaṃ Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi. Atha kho Cundo kammāraputto Bhagavatā dhammiyā kathāya sandassito samādapito samuttejito sampahaṃsito Bhagavantaṃ etaḍ avoca. Adhivāsetu me bhante Bhagavā svātānāya bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhusaṅghenaṭi. Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṇhībhāvena. Atha kho Cundo kammāraputto Bhagavato adhivāsanaṃ viditvā utṭhāy' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi. Atha kho Cundo kammāraputto tassā rattiya accayena sake nivesane paṇitaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ paṭiyādāpetvā pahūtaṃ ca sūkaramaddavaṃ Bhagavato kālāṃ ārocāpesi, kālo bhante niṭṭhitaṃ bhattaṃ ti. Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇhasamayaṃ nivāsetvā pattacīvaraṃ ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhusaṅghena yena Cundassa kammāraputtassa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā Cundaṃ kammāraputtaṃ āmantesi. Yaṃ te Cunda sūkaramaddavaṃ paṭiyattaṃ tena maṃ parivisa, yaṃ paṇ' aññaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ paṭiyattaṃ tena bhikkhusaṅghaṃ parivisāti. Evama bhante ti kho Cundo kammāraputto Bhagavato paṭissutvā yaṃ ahoṣi sūkaramaddavaṃ paṭiyattaṃ tena Bhagavantaṃ parivisi, yaṃ paṇ' aññaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ paṭiyattaṃ tena bhikkhusaṅghaṃ parivisi. Atha kho Bhagavā Cundaṃ kammāraputtaṃ āmantesi. Yaṃ te Cunda sūkaramaddavaṃ avasiṭṭhaṃ taṃ sobbhe nikhaṇāhi, nāhaṃ taṃ Cunda passāmi

sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiṇiṃ pajāya sadevamanussāya yassa taṃ paribhuttaṃ sammāparināmaṃ gaccheyya aññatara Tathāgatassāti. Evam bhante ti kho Cundo kammāraputto Bhagavato paṭissutvā yaṃ aho si sūkaramaddavaṃ avasiṭṭhaṃ taṃ sobbhe nikhanitvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Cundaṃ kammāraputtaṃ Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā utṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

Atha kho Bhagavato Cundassa kammāraputtassa bhattaṃ bhuttāvissa kharo ābādho uppajji lohitapakkhandikā, pabālā vedanā vattanti māraṇantikā. Tā sudam Bhagavā sato sampajāno adhiṇāsesi avihaññamāno. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Āyāma' Ānanda yena Kusināra ten' upasaṅkamissāmāti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccessosi.

Cundassa bhattaṃ bhuñjitvā kammārassāti me sutara
Ābādhaṃ samphusā dhīro pabālhaṃ māraṇantikaṃ.

Bhuttassa ca sūkaramaddavena vyādhi ppabālā udapādi
Satthuno :

Viriccamāno Bhagavā avoca gacchāma' ahaṃ Kusināraṃ
nagaraṃ ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā maggā okkamma yen' aññataraṃ rukkhamūlaṃ ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Ingha me tvaṃ Ānanda catugguṇaṃ saṅghāṭiṃ paññāpehi, kilanto 'smi Ānanda nisīdissāmāti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā catugguṇaṃ saṅghāṭiṃ paññāpesi. Nisīdi Bhagavā paññatā āsane, nisajja kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Ingha me tvaṃ Ānanda pāṇiyāma āhara, pipāsito 'smi Ānanda pivissāmāti. Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca. Idāni bhante pañcamattāni sakatasatāni atikkantāni, taṃ cakkacchinnaṃ udakaṃ parittaṃ lūṭitaṃ

² DY -parināmaṃ ⁵ DP nikhanitvā ¹² P bālhavedanā ¹³ P maraṇ- ¹⁹ SZ samphusi, D phusatī, P phusi, S phusatī corrected to samphusi ²⁰ P cundassa for bhuttassa ²¹ P viriccamāno.

āvilam sandati, ayaṃ bhante Kakutthā nadī avidūre acchodikā sātodikā sītodikā setakā supatitthā ramaṇiyā, ettha Bhagavā pāṇiyaṃ ca pivissati gattāni ca sītaṃkarissatīti. Dutiyam pi kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Ingha me tvaṃ Ānanda pāṇiyaṃ āhara, pipāsito 'smi Ānanda pivissāmīti. Dutiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Idāni bhante pañcamattāni sakaṭasatāni atikkantāni, taṃ cakkacchinnā udakāṃ parittāṃ lūṭāṃ āvilam sandati, ayaṃ bhante Kakutthā nadī avidūre acchodikā sātodikā sītodikā setakā supatitthā ramaṇiyā, ettha Bhagavā pāṇiyaṃ ca pivissati gattāni ca sītaṃkarissatīti. Tatiyam pi kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Ingha me tvaṃ Ānanda pāṇiyaṃ āhara, pipāsito 'smi Ānanda pivissāmīti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā pattaṃ gahetvā yena sā nadikā ten' upasaṅkami. Atha kho sā nadikā cakkacchinnā parittā lūṭā āvilā sandamānā āyasmante Ānande upasaṅkamante acchā vipprasannā anāvilā sandittha. Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahosi, acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho Tathāgatassa mahiddhikatā mahānubhāvata, ayaṃ hi sā nadikā cakkacchinnā parittā lūṭā āvilā sandamānā mayi upasaṅkamante acchā vipprasannā anāvilā sandatīti, pattaṃ pāṇiyaṃ ādāya yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante Tathāgatassa mahiddhikatā mahānubhāvata, idāni sā bhante nadikā cakkacchinnā parittā lūṭā āvilā sandamānā mayi upasaṅkamante acchā vipprasannā anāvilā sandittha, pivatu Bhagavā pāṇiyaṃ pivatu Sugato pāṇiyaṃ ti. Atha kho Bhagavā pāṇiyaṃ apāyi.

Tena kho pana samayena Pukkuso Mallaputto Ālārassa Kālāmassa sāvako Kusinārāya Pāvaṃ addhānamaggapaṭipanno hoti. Addasā kho Pukkuso Mallaputto Bhagavantaṃ aññatarasmim rukkhamaṭṭhe nisinnaṃ, disvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Pukkuso Malla-

¹ D kuk-, P acchodakā sītodakā sātodakā sūpatitthā, S sītodikā ² D kuk-, P acchodakā sithhodakā sāhodakā supatitthā, S sūp-.

putto Bhagavantam etad avoca. Acchariyam bhante abbhutam bhante, santena vata bhante pabbajitā vihārena viharanti. Bhūtapubbam bhante Ālāro Kālāmo addhānamaggapātipanno maggā okkamma avidūre aññatarasmiṃ rukkhamaṭṭe divāvihāre nisīdi. Atha kho bhante pañcamattāni sakataṣaṭṭhāni Ālāram Kālāmaṃ nissāya nissāya atikkamimsu. Atha kho bhante aññataro puriso tassa sakataṣaṭṭhassa piṭṭhito āgacchanto yena Ālāro Kālāmo ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Ālāram Kālāmaṃ etad avoca. Api bhante pañcamattāni sakataṣaṭṭhāni atikkamantāni addasāti. Na kho ahaṃ āvuso addasan ti. Kim pana bhante saddaṃ assosīti. Na kho ahaṃ āvuso saddaṃ assosin ti. Kim pana bhante sutto ahoṣīti. Na kho ahaṃ āvuso sutto ahoṣin ti. Kim pana bhante saññī ahoṣīti. Evam āvuso ti. So tvaṃ bhante saññī samāno jāgaro pañcamattāni sakataṣaṭṭhāni nissāya nissāya atikkamantāni n'eva addasa na pana saddaṃ assosi, api hi te bhante saṅghāṭi rajena okiṇṇā ti. Evam āvuso ti. Atha kho bhante tassa purisassa etad ahoṣi. Acchariyam vata bho abbhutam vata bho, santena vata bho pabbajitā vihārena viharanti, yatra hi nāma saññī samāno jāgaro pañcamattāni sakataṣaṭṭhāni nissāya nissāya atikkamantāni n'eva dakkhiti na pana saddaṃ sossatīti, Ālāre Kālāme ulāram pasādaṃ pavedetvā pakkāmiti. Tam kiṃ maññasi Pukkusa, kataman nu kho dukkarataram durabbhisambhavataram vā, yo saññī samāno jāgaro pañcamattāni sakataṣaṭṭhāni nissāya nissāya atikkamantāni n'eva passeyya na pana saddaṃ suṇeyya, yo vā saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā n'eva passeyya na saddaṃ suṇeyyāti. Kiṃ hi bhante tāni karissanti pañca vā sakataṣaṭṭhāni cha vā sakataṣaṭṭhāni satta vā sakataṣaṭṭhāni aṭṭha vā sakataṣaṭṭhāni nava vā sakataṣaṭṭhāni dasa vā sakataṣaṭṭhāni sakataṣaṭṭhāni vā sakataṣaṭṭhāni vā, atha kho etad eva dukkarataram c'eva durabbhisambhavataraṃ ca yo saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā n'eva passeyya na saddaṃ suṇeyyāti. Ekam idāhaṃ Pukkusa samayaṃ Ātumaṃ viharāmi Bhusāgāre. Tena kho pana samayena deve

²¹ P dakkasi, sossasiti, DSYZ dakkhiti ²⁷ D galagalāyante, Y galāgalāyante
³³ D galagal-, S galagal- corrected to galagal-, Z haḷahaj-.

vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā Bhusāgārassa dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā. Atha kho Pukkusa Ātumāya mahājanakāyo nikkhamitvā yena te dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā ten' upasaṅkami. Tena kho panāhaṃ Pukkusa samayena Bhusāgārā nikkhamitvā Bhusāgāradvāre abbhokāse caṅkamāmi. Atha kho Pukkusa aññītaro puriso tamhā mahājanakāyā yenāhaṃ ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atthāsi, ekamantaṃ t̐titaṃ kho ahaṃ Pukkusa taṃ purisaṃ etad avocaṃ. Kin nu kho so āvuso mahājanakāyo sannipatito ti. Idāni bhante deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā, etth' eso mahājanakāyo sannipatito, tvaṃ pana bhante kva ahoṣīti. Idh' eva kho ahaṃ āvuso ahoṣin ti. Kiṃ pana bhante addasāti. Na kho ahaṃ āvuso addasaṃ ti. Kiṃ pana bhante saddaṃ assosīti. Na kho ahaṃ āvuso saddaṃ assosin ti. Kiṃ pana bhante sutto ahoṣīti. Na kho ahaṃ āvuso sutto ahoṣin ti. Kiṃ pana bhante saññī ahoṣīti. Evam āvuso ti. So tvaṃ bhante saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā n'eva addasa na pana saddaṃ assosīti. Evam āvuso ti. Atha kho Pukkusa tassa purisassa etad ahoṣi. Acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho, santena vata bho pabbajitā vihārena viharanti, yatra hi nāma saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā n'eva dakkhati na pana saddaṃ sosatīti, mayi ulāraṃ pasādaṃ pavedetvā maṃ abhivādetvā pa-dakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmiti.

Evam vutte Pukkuso Mallaputto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Esāhaṃ bhante yo me Ālāre Kālāme pasādo taṃ mahāvāte vā opunāmi sīghasotāya vā nadiyā pavāhemi. Abhikkantaṃ bhante abhikkantaṃ bhante, seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya mūlhasa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya andhakāre vā telapajjotaṃ dhāreyya cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintīti, evam evaṃ Bhagavatā

anekapariyâyena dhammo pakâsito esâham bhante Bhagavantañ saraṇaṃ gacchâmi dhammañ ca bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ca, upâsakam mañ Bhagavâ dhâretu ajjat' agge pânupetañ saraṇaṃ gatan ti.

Atha kho Pukkuso Mallaputto aññataraṃ purisaṃ âmanesi. Ingha me tvaṃ bhane siṅgivaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭhaṃ dhâraṇiyaṃ âharâti. Evam bhante ti kho so puriso Pukkussa Mallaputtassa paṭissutvâ taṃ siṅgivaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭhaṃ dhâraṇiyaṃ âhari. Atha kho Pukkuso Mallaputto taṃ siṅgivaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭhaṃ dhâraṇiyaṃ Bhagavato upanâmesi, idaṃ bhante siṅgivaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭhaṃ dhâraṇiyaṃ, tam me bhante Bhagavâ patigaṇhâtu anukampaṃ upâdâyâti. Tena hi Pukkusa ekena mañ acchâdehi ekena Ânandañ ti. Evam bhante ti kho Pukkuso Mallaputto Bhagavato paṭissutvâ ekena Bhagavantañ acchâdesi ekena âyasmantañ Ânandaṃ. Atha kho Bhagavâ Pukkusañ Mallaputtañ dhammiyâ kathâya sandassesî samâdapesi samuttejesî sampahamsesi. Atha kho Pukkuso Mallaputto Bhagavatâ dhammiyâ kathâya sandassito samâdapito samuttejito sampahamsito utthây' âsanâ Bhagavantañ abhivâdetvâ padakkhiṇaṃ katvâ pakkâmi.

Atha kho âyasmâ Ânando acirapakkante Pukkuse Mallaputte taṃ siṅgivaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭhaṃ dhâraṇiyaṃ Bhagavato kâyaṃ upanâmesi, taṃ Bhagavato kâyaṃ upanâmitaṃ vitaccikaṃ viya khâyati. Atha kho âyasmâ Ânando Bhagavantañ etad avoca. Acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante yâvaparissuddho bhante Tathâgatassa chavivaṇṇo pariyodâto, idaṃ bhante siṅgivaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭhaṃ dhâraṇiyaṃ Bhagavato kâyaṃ upanâmesim, taṃ Bhagavato kâyaṃ upanâmitaṃ vitaccikaṃ viya khâyatîti. Evam etaṃ Ânanda. Dvîsu kho Ânanda kâlesu ativiya Tathâgatassa parisuddho hoti chavivaṇṇo pariyodâto, katamesu dvîsu. Yañ ca Ânanda rattiṃ Tathâgato anuttaraṃ sammâsambodhiṃ abhisambujjhati yañ ca rattiṃ anupâdisesâya nibbânadhâtuyâ parinibbâyeti, imesu kho Ânanda dvîsu kâlesu ativiya Tathâgatassa parisuddho hoti

⁶ PSZ matṭhaṃ ⁸ P matṭhaṃ, ⁷ Z matṭhaṃ corrected to matṭhaṃ ¹⁰, ¹¹ PSZ matṭhaṃ ²⁴ D vitayikaṃ, P sâtaccikaṃ, Y vitâsikaṃ corrected to vitaccikaṃ, S vitaccikaṃ ²⁹ P hataccikaṃ.

chavivaṇṇo pariyodāto. Ajja kho pan' Ānanda rattiyaṃ pacchimayāme Kusinārāyaṃ Upavattane Mallānaṃ sālavana antarena yamakasālānaṃ Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavisati. Āyāma' Ānanda yena Kakutthā nadi ten' upasaṅkamissāma. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

Singivaṇṇayugam matṭhaṃ Pukkuso abhihārayi
Tena acchādito Satthā hemavaṇṇo asobhathāti.

Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṃ yena Kakutthā nadi ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Kakuttham nadim ajjhogahetvā nahātvā ca pivtvā ca paccuttaritvā yena Ambavanaṃ ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā āyasantam Cundakaṃ āmantesi. Iṅha me tvaṃ Cundaka catugguṇaṃ saṅghātiṃ paññāpehi, kilanto 'smi Cundaka nipajjissāmi. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Cundako Bhagavato paṭissutvā catugguṇaṃ saṅghātiṃ paññāpesi. Atha kho Bhagavā dakkhiṇena passena sīhaseyyaṃ kappesi pāde pādaṃ accādhāya sato sampajāno utthānasaññaṃ manasikaritvā. Āyasmā pana Cundako tatth' eva Bhagavato purato nisīdi.

Gantvāna Buddho nadiyaṃ Kakuttham
Acchodisātodikaṃ vippasannaṃ
Ogāhi Satthā sukilantarūpo
Tathāgato appaṭimo 'va loke.
Nahātvā ca pivtvā ca udatāri Satthā
Purakkhato bhikkhuganaṃ majjhe.
Satthā pavattā Bhagavā idha dhamme
Upāgami Ambavanaṃ mahesi.
Āmantayi Cundakaṃ nāma bhikkhum,
Catugguṇaṃ patthara me nipajjaṃ.
So modito bhāvitattena Cundo
Catugguṇaṃ patthari khippam eva.
Nipajji Satthā sukilantarūpo,
Cundo pi tattha pamukhe nisīdīti.

¹⁰ DY kuk-, S kuk- altered to kak-, at second occurrence ²¹ DY kuk- ²² D accho-
dikaṃ, P acchedakam sātudakam ²³ D pivtvā, P nhatvā ca pivtvā c'.

Atha kho Bhagavâ âyasmantañ Ânandañ âmantesi. Siyâ kho pan' Ânanda Cundassa kammâraputtassa koci vippaṭi-sârañ upadaheyya, tassa te âvuso Cunda alâbhâ tassa te dulladdhañ yassa te Tathâgato pacchimañ piṇḍapâtañ bhuñjitvâ parinibbuto ti, Cundassa Ânanda kammâraputtassa evañ vippaṭisâro paṭivinetabbo, tassa te âvuso lâbhâ tassa te suladdhañ yassa te Tathâgato pacchimañ piṇḍapâtañ bhuñjitvâ parinibbuto, sammukhâ me tañ âvuso Cunda Bhagavato sutañ sammukhâ paṭiggahitañ, dve 'me piṇḍapâtâ samasamaphalâ samasamavipâkâ ativiya aññehi piṇḍapâtehi mahapphalatarâ ca mahânisamsatarâ ca, katame dve, yañ ca piṇḍapâtañ bhuñjitvâ Tathâgato anuttarañ sammâsambodhiñ abhisambujjhati yañ ca piṇḍapâtañ bhuñjitvâ Tathâgato anupâdisesâya nibbânadhâtuyâ parinibbâyati, ime dve piṇḍapâtâ samasamaphalâ samasamavipâkâ ativiya aññehi piṇḍapâtehi mahapphalatarâ ca mahânisamsatarâ ca. Âyusañvattikañ âyasmatâ Cundena kammâraputtena kammañ upacitañ, vaṇṇasañvattanikañ âyasmatâ Cundena kammâraputtena kammañ upacitañ, sukhasañvattanikañ âyasmatâ Cundena kammâraputtena kammañ upacitañ, yasasañvattanikañ âyasmatâ Cundena kammâraputtena kammañ upacitañ, saggasañvattanikañ âyasmatâ Cundena kammâraputtena kammañ upacitañ, âdhipateyyasañvattanikañ âyasmatâ Cundena kammâraputtena kammañ upacitañ ti, Cundassa Ânanda kammâraputtassa evañ vippaṭisâro paṭivinetabbo ti.

Atha kho Bhagavâ etam atthañ viditvâ tâyañ velâyañ imañ udânañ udânesi,

Dadato puññañ pavaddhati, sañyamato verañ ca cîyati;

Kusalo ca jahâti pâpakañ, râgadosamohakkhayâ sa nibbuto ti.

Âlâavedallabbhânavârañ niṭṭhitañ catutthañ.

Atha kho Bhagavâ âyasmantañ Ânandañ âmantesi. Âyâmañ Ânanda yena Hiraññavatiyâ nadiyâ pârimatirañ yena Kusi-nârâ Upavattanañ Mallânañ sâlavanañ ten' upasañkamis-

²⁸ DSYZ saññamato ³⁰ P has simply bhânavârañ catutthañ (wrongly written sâñ-).

sāmāti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhim yena Hiraññavatiyānadiyā pārimatīraṃ yena Kusinārā Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sālavanaṃ ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Ingha me tvaṃ Ānanda antarena yamakasālānaṃ uttarasisakaṃ mañcakaṃ paññāpehi, kilanto 'smi Ānanda nipajjissāmīti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā antarena yamakasālānaṃ uttarasisakaṃ mañcakaṃ paññāpesi. Atha kho Bhagavā dakkhiṇena passena sīhaseyyaṃ kappesi pāde pādāṃ accādhāya sato sampajāno.

Tena kho pana samayena yamakasālā sabbaphāliphullā honti akālapupphēhi, te Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya, dibbāni pi mandāravapupphāni antalikkhā papatanti tāni Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya, dibbāni pi candanacunnāni antalikkhā papatanti tāni Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya, dibbāni pi turīyāni antalikkhe vajjenti Tathāgatassa pūjāya, dibbāni pi saṅgītāni antalikkhe vattanti Tathāgatassa pūjāya.

Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Sabbaphāliphullā kho Ānanda yamakasālā akālapupphēhi Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya, dibbāni pi mandāravapupphāni antalikkhā papatanti tāni Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya, dibbāni pi candanacunnāni antalikkhā papatanti tāni Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya, dibbāni pi turīyāni antalikkhe vajjenti Tathāgatassa pūjāya, dibbāni pi saṅgītāni antalikkhe vattanti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Na kho Ānanda etiāvatā Tathāgato sakkato vā hoti garukato vā mānito vā pūjito vā apacito vā, yo kho Ānanda bhikkhu vā bhikkhunī vā upāsako vā upāsikā vā dhammānudhammapaṭipanno viharati sāmīcipaṭipanno anudhammacāri so Tathāgataṃ sakkaroti garukaroti mānēti pūjeti paramāya pūjāya. Tasmā ti h' Ānanda dhammānudhammapaṭipannā viharissāma sāmīcipaṭipannā anudhammacārino ti, evaṃ hi vo Ānanda sikkhitabban ti.

Tena kho pana samayena âyasmâ Upavâṇo Bhagavato purato ṭhito hoti Bhagavantam vijaṃhāno. Atha kho Bhagavâ âyasmantaṃ Upavâṇaṃ apasādesi, apehi bhikkhu mā me purato aṭṭhāsīti. Atha kho âyasmato Ânandassa etad ahoṣi. Ayaṃ kho âyasmâ Upavâṇo dīgharattaṃ Bhagavato upaṭṭhāko santikāvacaro saṃipacārī, atha ca pana Bhagavâ pacchime kâlê âyasmantaṃ Upavâṇaṃ apasādesi, apehi bhikkhu mā me purato aṭṭhāsīti, ko nu kho hetu ko paccayo yaṃ Bhagavâ âyasmantaṃ Upavâṇaṃ apasādesi, apehi bhikkhu mā me purato aṭṭhāsīti. Atha kho âyasmâ Ânando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Ayaṃ bhante âyasmâ Upavâṇo dīgharattaṃ Bhagavato upaṭṭhāko santikāvacaro saṃipacārī, atha ca pana Bhagavâ pacchime kâlê âyasmantaṃ Upavâṇaṃ apasādeti, apehi bhikkhu mā me purato aṭṭhāsīti, ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo yaṃ Bhagavâ âyasmantaṃ Upavâṇaṃ apasādesi, apehi bhikkhu mā me purato aṭṭhāsīti. Yebhuyyena Ânanda dasasu lokadhātusu devatā sannipatitā Tathāgataṃ dassanāya, yāvataṃ Ânanda Kusinārā Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sālavanaṃ samantato dvādasa yojanāni n'atthi so padeso vālaggakoṭinittūdanamatto pi mahesakkhāhi devatāhi apphuto, devatā Ânanda ujjhāyanti, dūrā vat' ambā āgatā Tathāgataṃ dassanāya, kadāci karahaci Tathāgatā loka upajjanti arahanto sammāsambuddhā, ajja ca rattiyaṃ pacchimaṃ Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, ayaṃ ca mahesakkho bhikkhu Bhagavato purato ṭhito ovārento, na mayaṃ labhāma pacchime kâlê Tathāgataṃ dassanāyati devatā Ânanda ujjhāyantīti. Kathambhūtā pana bhante Bhagavâ devatā manasikarotīti. Sant' Ânanda devatā ākāse paṭhavisaññīniyo kese pakiriya kandanti bāhā paggayha kandanti chinnaṃ papātāṃ papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti, atikhippaṃ Bhagavâ parinibbāyissati atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbāyissati atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ loka antaradhāyissatīti. Sant' Ânanda devatā paṭhaviyā paṭhavisaññīniyo kese pakiriya kandanti bāhā paggayha kandanti chinna-

¹ D has upavāṇ- in each place except the 3rd, P has upavāṇ- throughout, SYZ upavāṇ- throughout ²⁰ SYZ -nittudd-, P -nittud-, apphuto ²⁵ SZ -karontīti ³⁰ DY āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti.

papātaṃ papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivatṭanti, atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbāyissati atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbāyissati atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ loke antaradhāyissatīti. Yā pana tā devatā vitarāgā tā satā sampajānā adbhivāseṃti, aniccā saṅkhārā taṃ kut' ettha labbhā ti. Pubbe bhante disāsu vassaṃ vutthā bhikkhū āgacchanti Tathāgataṃ dassanāya, te mayaṃ labhāma manobhāvaniye bhikkhū dassanāya labhāma payirupāsānāya Bhagavato pana mayaṃ bhante accayena na labhissāma manobhāvaniye bhikkhū dassanāya na labhissāma payirupāsānāyāti.

Cattā' imāni Ānanda saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyāni saṃvejanīyāni ṭhānāni, katamāni cattāri. Idha Tathāgato jāto ti Ānanda saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ. Idha Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho ti Ānanda saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ. Idha Tathāgatena anuttaraṃ dhammacakkaṃ pavattitaṃ ti Ānanda saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ. Idha Tathāgato anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbuto ti Ānanda saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ. Imāni kho Ānanda cattāri saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyāni saṃvejanīyāni ṭhānāni. Āgamiṃsanti kho Ānanda saddhā bhikkhubhikkhuniyo upāsaka-upāsikāyo, idha Tathāgato jāto ti pi, idha Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho ti pi, idha Tathāgatena anuttaraṃ dhammacakkaṃ pavattitaṃ ti pi, idha Tathāgato anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbuto ti pi. Ye hi keci Ānanda cetiyacārikaṃ āhiṇḍantā pasannacittā kālāni karissanti sabbe te kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatīṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjissanti.

Kathaṃ mayaṃ bhante mātugāme paṭipajjāmāti. Adasanaṃ Ānandāti. Dassane Bhagavā sati kathaṃ paṭipajjitabbaṃ ti. Anālāpo Ānandāti. Ālapantena pana bhante kathaṃ paṭipajjitabbaṃ ti. Sati Ānanda upatṭhāpetabbā ti.

Kathaṃ mayaṃ bhante Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjāmāti.

¹ DY āvaṭṭanti vivatṭanti ¹² D saṃvejanīy- in 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 6th places, P saṃvejanīy- throughout, S saṃvejanīy- only in the 1st place, Y in 1st saṃvejanīy- corrected to saṃvejanīy-, in 2nd and 3rd saṃvejanīy-, in 4th, 5th, and 6th saṃvejanīy-, Z saṃvejanīy- in each place.

Avyâvatâ tumhe Ânanda hotha Tathâgatassa sarîrapûjâya, ingha tumhe Ânanda sadatthe ghatatha sadattham anuyuñjatha sadatthe appamattâ âtâpino pahitattâ viharatha, sant' Ânanda khattiyapañditâ pi brâhmanapañditâ pi gahapati-pañditâ pi Tathâgate abhippasannâ, te Tathâgatassa sarîrapûjam karissantîti. Katham pana bhante Tathâgatassa sarîre paṭipajjitabban ti. Yathâ kho Ânanda rañño cakkavattissa sarîre paṭipajjanti evam Tathâgatassa sarîre paṭipajjitabban ti. Katham pana bhante rañño cakkavattissa sarîre paṭipajjantîti. Rañño Ânanda cakkavattissa sarîram ahatena vatthena veṭhenti, ahatena vatthena veṭhetvâ vihatena kappâsena veṭhenti, vihatena kappâsena veṭhetvâ ahatena vatthena veṭhenti, etena upâyena pañcahi yugasatehi rañño cakkavattissa sarîram veṭhetvâ ayasâya teladoniyâ pakkhipitvâ aññissâ ayasâya doniyâ paṭikujjetvâ sabba-gandhânam citakam karitvâ rañño cakkavattissa sarîram jhâpenti, cātummahâpathe rañño cakkavattissa thûpaṃ karonti. Evam kho Ânanda rañño cakkavattissa sarîre paṭipajjanti. Yathâ kho Ânanda rañño cakkavattissa sarîre paṭipajjanti evam Tathâgatassa sarîre paṭipajjitabban. Cātummahâpathe Tathâgatassa thûpo kâtabbo, tattha ye mâlam vâ gandham vâ vaṇṇakam vâ âropessanti abhivâdessanti vâ cittam vâ pasâdessanti tesam tam bhavissati dîgharattam hitâya sukhâya.

Cattâro 'me Ânanda thûpârahâ, katame cattâro. Tathâgato araham sammâsambuddho thûpâraho, paccekabuddho thûpâraho, Tathâgatasâvako thûpâraho, rājâ cakkavatti thûpâraho. Katamañ c' Ânanda atthavasam paṭicca Tathâgato araham sammâsambuddho thûpâraho. Ayam tassa Bhagavato arahato sambuddhassa thûpo ti Ânanda bahujanâ cittam pasâdenti, te tattha cittam pasâdetvâ kâyassa bhedâ param maraṇâ sugatim saggam lokam uppajjanti, idam kho Ânanda atthavasam paṭicca Tathâgato araham sammâsambuddho thûpâraho. Katamañ c' Ânanda atthavasam paṭicca paccekasambuddho thûpâraho. Ayam tassa Bhagavato paccekasambuddhassa thûpo ti Ânanda bahujanâ cittam pasâdenti, te

tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kāyassa bhedaṃ paramaṃ maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti, idaṃ kho Ânanda atthavaṣaṃ paṭicca paccekasambuddho thûpāraho. Katamañi c' Ânanda atthavaṣaṃ paṭicca Tathāgatasāvako thûpāraho. Ayaṃ tassa Bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa sāvaka-thûpo ti Ânanda bahujaṇā cittaṃ pasādenti, te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kāyassa bhedaṃ paramaṃ maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti, idaṃ kho Ânanda atthavaṣaṃ paṭicca Tathāgatasāvako thûpāraho. Katamañi c' Ânanda atthavaṣaṃ paṭicca rājā cakkavatti thûpāraho. Ayaṃ tassa dhammikassa dhammarañño thûpo ti Ânanda bahujaṇā cittaṃ pasādenti, te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kāyassa bhedaṃ paramaṃ maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti. Idaṃ kho Ânanda atthavaṣaṃ paṭicca rājā cakkavatti thûpāraho. Ime kho Ânanda cattāro thûpārahā ti.

Atha kho âyasmā Ânando vihāraṃ pavisitvā kapisīsaṃ âlambitvā rodamaṇo atthāsi, ahañi ca vat'amhi sekho sakaraṇīyo Satthu ca me parinibbānaṃ bhavissati yo mamaṃ anukampako ti. Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū âmantesi, kahaṇu kho bhikkhave Ânando ti. Eso bhante âyasmā Ânando vihāraṃ pavisitvā kapisīsaṃ âlambitvā rodamaṇo thito, ahañi ca vat'amhi sekho sakaraṇīyo Satthu ca me parinibbānaṃ bhavissati yo mamaṃ anukampako ti. Atha kho Bhagavā aññataraṃ bhikkhuṃ âmantesi. Ehi tvaṃ bhikkhu mama vacanena Ânandaṃ âmantehi, Satthā taṃ âvuso Ânanda âmantetīti. Evam bhante ti kho so bhikkhu Bhagavato paṭissutvā yen' âyasmā Ânando ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā âyasmantaṃ Ânandaṃ etad avoca. Satthā taṃ âvuso Ânanda âmantetīti. Evam âvuso ti kho âyasmā Ânando tassa bhikkhuno paṭissutvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho âyasmantaṃ Ânandaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca. Alaṃ Ânanda mā soci mā paridevi, na nu etaṃ Ânanda mayā paṭigacce' eva akkhātaṃ, sabbehi' eva piyehi manāpehi nānābhāvo vinābhāvo aññathābhāvo taṃ kut' ettha Ânanda labbhā yaṃ taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṅkhataṃ palokadhammaṃ taṃ vata mā palujjīti, n'etaṃ thānaṃ vijjati. Dīgharattaṃ kho te Ânanda Tathāgato paccupatthito mettena

kâyakammena hitena sukhena advayena appamâṇena, mettena vacîkammena . . pe . . mettena manokammena hitena sukhena advayena appamâṇena, katapuñño 'si tvaṃ Ânanda, padhânam anuyuñja khippariṃ hohisi anâsavo ti.

Atha kho Bhagavâ bhikkhû âmantesi. Ye pi te bhikkhave ahesuṃ atitāma addhānaṃ arahanto sammâsambuddhâ tesam pi bhagavantānaṃ etaparamâ yeva upatthākâ ahesuṃ seyyathâ pi mayhaṃ Ânando. Ye pi te bhikkhave bhavissanti anâgatam addhānaṃ arahanto sammâsambuddhâ tesam pi bhagavantānaṃ etaparamâ yeva upatthākâ bhavissanti seyyathâ pi mayhaṃ Ânando. Paṇḍito kho bhikkhave Ânando, jānāti ayaṃ kâlo Tathâgatam dassanâya upasaṅkamituṃ, bhikkhūnaṃ ayaṃ kâlo bhikkhūnaṃ ayaṃ kâlo upâsakanānaṃ ayaṃ kâlo upâsikanānaṃ ayaṃ kâlo rañño rājamahāmattānaṃ titthiyānaṃ titthiyasâvakānaṃ ti. Cattâro 'me bhikkhave acchariyâ abbhutâ dhammâ Ânande, katame cattâro. Sace bhikkhave bhikkhuparisâ Ânandaṃ dassanâya upasaṅkamati dassanena sâ attamanâ hoti, tatra ce Ânando dhammaṃ bhâsati bhâsitena pi sâ attamanâ hoti, atittâ 'va bhikkhave bhikkhuparisâ hoti atha Ânando tuṇhî hoti. Sace bhikkhave bhikkhunîparisâ upâsakaparisâ upâsikâparisâ Ânandaṃ dassanâya upasaṅkamati dassanena sâ attamanâ hoti, tatra ce Ânando dhammaṃ bhâsati bhâsitena pi sâ attamanâ hoti, atittâ 'va bhikkhave upâsikâparisâ hoti atha Ânando tuṇhî hoti. Cattâro 'me bhikkhave acchariyâ abbhutâ dhammâ raññe cakkavattimhi. Sace bhikkhave khattiyaparisâ brâhmanaparisâ gahapatiparisâ samanaparisâ rājānaṃ cakkavattim dassanâya upasaṅkamati dassanena sâ attamanâ hoti, tatra ce rājâ cakkavatti bhâsati bhâsitena pi sâ attamanâ hoti, atittâ 'va bhikkhave samanaparisâ hoti atha rājâ cakkavatti tuṇhî hoti. Evam eva kho bhikkhave cattâro acchariyâ abbhutâ dhammâ Ânande. Sace bhikkhave bhikkhuparisâ bhikkhunîparisâ upâsakaparisâ upâsikâparisâ Ânandaṃ dassanâya upasaṅkamati dassanena pi sâ attamanâ hoti, tatra ce Ânando dhammaṃ bhâsati bhâsitena pi sâ attamanâ hoti, atittâ 'va bhikkhave upâsikâparisâ hoti atha Ânando tuṇhî hoti. Ime kho bhikkhave cattâro acchariyâ abbhutâ dhammâ Ânande ti.

Evam vutte âyasmâ Ânando Bhagavantam etad avoca. Mâ bhante Bhagavâ imasmim kuḍḍanagarake ujjāṅgalanagarake sâkhanagarake parinibbâyatu, santi hi bhante aññāni mahānagarāni seyyathīdam Campā Rājagaham Sāvattī Sâketam Kosambī Bārāṇasī, ettha Bhagavâ parinibbâyatu, ettha bahukhattiyamahāsālā brāhmaṇamahāsālā gahapatimahāsālā Tathāgate abhippasannā, te Tathāgatassa sarīrapūjaṃ karissantīti. Mâ h' evam Ânanda avaca, mâ h' evam Ânanda avaca kuḍḍanagarakaṃ ujjāṅgalanagarakaṃ sâkhanagarakaṃ. Bhūtapubbaṃ Ânanda rājā Mahāsudassano nāma ahosi cakkavatti dhammiko dhammarājā cāturato vijitāvi janapadatthāvariyaṃ sattaratanasamannāgato. Rañño Ânanda Mahāsudassanassa ayaṃ Kusinārā Kusāvattī nāma rājadhānī ahosi puratthimena ca pacchimena ca dvādasa yojanāni âyāmena uttarena ca dakkhiṇena ca satta yojanāni vitthārena. Kusāvattī Ânanda rājadhānī iddhā c'eva ahosi phitā ca bahujanā ca âkiṇṇamanussā ca subhikkhā ca, seyyathā pi Ânanda devānam Âlakamandā nāma rājadhānī iddhā c'eva phitā ca bahujanā ca âkiṇṇayakkhā ca subhikkhā ca, evam eva kho Ânanda Kusāvattī rājadhānī iddhā c'eva ahosi phitā ca bahujanā ca âkiṇṇamanussā ca subhikkhā ca. Kusāvattī Ânanda rājadhānī dasahi saddehi avivittā ahosi divā c'eva rattī ca, seyyathīdam hatthisaddena assasaddena rathasaddena bherisaddena mutingasaddena vīṇāsaddena gītasaddena sammasaddena tālasaddena asnāthapivathakhādathāti dasamena saddeha. Gaccha tvaṃ Ânanda Kusinārāyaṃ pavisitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocehi, ajja kho Vāsetṭhā rattiyā pacchime yāme Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, abhikkhamatha Vāsetṭhā abhikkhamatha Vāsetṭhā mā pacchāvippaṭṭisārino ahuvattha, amhākaṃ ca no gāmakkhette Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ ahosi, na mayaṃ labhimhā pacchime kāle Tathāgataṃ dassanāyāti. Evam bhante ti kho âyasmâ Ânando Bhagavato paṭissutvā nivāsetvā pattacīvaraṃ ādāya attadutiyo Kusinārāyaṃ pāvisi.

² P khudda- ⁵ DSYZ have kosambi, P kosambim (and bārāṇasī) ⁹ DPSYZ khuddaka- for kuḍḍa- ¹⁴ DSYZ yojanā ¹⁵ D ālaka- ²² DPS rattī ²⁴ P mudhiga- ²⁵ P has inserted saṅkhasaddena after sammasaddena, and then erased the latter, DPSZ tāla-, DY asanātha.

Tena kho pana samayena Kosināarakā Mallā santhāgāre sannipatitā honti kenacid eva karaṇīyena. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Kosināarakānaṃ Mallānaṃ santhāgāraṃ ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Kosināarakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocesi. Ajja kho Vāsetṭhā rattiyā pacchime yāme Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, abhikkhamatha Vāsetṭhā abhikkhamatha Vāsetṭhā mā pacchāvippaṭṭisārino ahuvattha, amhākaṃ ca no gāmakkhette Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ ahosi, na mayaṃ labhimhā pacchime kāle Tathāgataṃ dassanāyāti. Idam āyasmato Ānandassa sutvā Mallā ca Malla-puttā ca Mallasuṇisā ca Mallapajāpatiyo ca aghāvino dummanā cetodukkhasamappitā app ekacce kese pakiriya kandanti bāhā paggayha kandanti chinnaṃ papātaṃ papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivattanti, atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbāyissati atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbāyissati atikhippaṃ cakkhum loke antaradhāyissatīti.

Atha kho Mallā Malla-puttā ca Mallasuṇisā ca Mallapajāpatiyo ca aghāvino dummanā cetodukkhasamappitā yena Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sālavanaṃ yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṅkamimsu. Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahosi. Sace kho ahaṃ Kosinārake Malle ekamekaṃ Bhagavantaṃ vandāpeṣāmi avandito Bhagavā Kosinārakehi Mallehi bhavissati athāyaṃ ratti vibhāyissati, yaṃ nūnāhaṃ Kosinārake Malle kulaparivattaso kulaparivattaso ṭhapetvā Bhagavantaṃ vandāpeyyāmi, itthannāmo bhante Mallo saputto sabhario sapariso sāmacco Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatīti. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Kosinārake Malle kulaparivattaso kulaparivattaso ṭhapetvā Bhagavantaṃ vandāpesi, itthannāmo bhante Mallo saputto sabhario sapariso sāmacco Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatīti. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando etena upāyena paṭhamen' eva yāmena Kusinārake Malle Bhagavantaṃ vandāpesi.

Tena kho pana samayena Subhaddo nāma paribbājako Kusinārayaṃ paṭivasati. Assosi kho Subhaddo paribbājako, ajj' eva kira rattiyā pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gota-

massa parinibbānaṃ bhavissatīti. Atha kho Subhaddassa paribbājakassa etad ahosi. Sutaṃ kho pana me taṃ paribbājakānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariyapācariyānaṃ bhāsamanānaṃ, kadāci karahaci Tathāgatā loke uppajjanti arahanto sammāsambuddhā ti, ajja ca rattiyaṃ pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, atthi ca me ayaṃ kaṅkhādhammo uppanno, evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ samaṇe Gotame, pahoti me samaṇo Gotamo tathā dhammaṃ desetuṃ yathā ahaṃ imaṃ kaṅkhādhammaṃ pajaheyyaṃ ti. Atha kho Subhaddo paribbājako yena Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sālavanaṃ yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avoca. Sutaṃ me taṃ bho Ānanda paribbājakānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariyapācariyānaṃ bhāsamanānaṃ, kadāci karahaci Tathāgatā loke uppajjanti arahanto sammāsambuddhā ti, ajja ca rattiyaṃ pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, atthi ca me ayaṃ kaṅkhādhammo uppanno, evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ samaṇe Gotame, pahoti me samaṇo Gotamo tathā dhammaṃ desetuṃ yathā ahaṃ imaṃ kaṅkhādhammaṃ pajaheyyaṃ, svāhaṃ bho Ānanda labheyyaṃ samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāyāti. Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Subhaddaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca. Alaṃ āvuso Subhadda mā Tathāgataṃ vihetthesi kilanto Bhagavā ti. Dutiyam pi kho Subhaddo paribbājako āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avoca. Sutaṃ me taṃ bho Ānanda paribbājakānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariyapācariyānaṃ bhāsamanānaṃ, kadāci karahaci Tathāgatā loke uppajjanti arahanto sammāsambuddhā ti, ajja ca rattiyaṃ pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, atthi ca me ayaṃ kaṅkhādhammo uppanno, evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ samaṇe Gotame, pahoti me samaṇo Gotamo tathā dhammaṃ desetuṃ yathā ahaṃ imaṃ kaṅkhādhammaṃ pajaheyyaṃ, svāhaṃ bho Ānanda labheyyaṃ samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāyāti. Tatiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Subhaddaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca. Alaṃ āvuso Subhadda mā Tathāgataṃ vihetthesi, kilanto Bhagavā ti.

Assosi kho Bhagavā āyasmato Ānandassa Subhaddena paribbājakena saddhim imaṃ kathāsallāpaṃ. Atha kho

Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Alaṃ Ānanda mā Subhaddaṃ vāresi, labhataṃ Ānanda Subhaddo Tathāgataṃ dassanāya, yaṃ kiñci maṃ Subhaddo pucchissati sabban taṃ aññāpekho 'va pucchissati no vihesāpekho, yañ c'assāhaṃ puṭṭho vyākariссāmi taṃ khippam eva ājānissatīti. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Subhaddaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca. Gacch' āvuso Subhadda, karoti te Bhagavā okāsan ti. Atha kho Subhaddo paribbājako yena Bhagavā ten' upasāṅkami, upasāṅkamitvā Bhagavatā sad-dhīm sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Ye 'me bho Gotama samaṇabrāhmaṇā saṅghino gaṇino gaṇācariyā ñātā yasassino tiṭṭhakarā sādhusammata ca bahujanassa, seyyathidaṃ Pūraṇo Kassapo, Makkhali Gosālo, Ajito Kesakambalī, Pakudho Kaccāyano, Sañjayo Belatṭhiputto, Nigaṇṭho Nāthaputto, sabbe te sakāya paṭiññāya abbhāññāṃsu, sabbe 'va na abbhāññāṃsu ekacce abbhāññāṃsu ekacce na abbhāññāṃsūti. Alaṃ Subhadda tiṭṭhat' etaṃ sabbe te sakāya paṭiññāya abbhāññāṃsu sabbe 'va na abbhāññāṃsu udāhu ekacce abbhāññāṃsu ekacce na abbhāññāṃsūti, dhammaṃ te Subhadda desessāmi taṃ suṇāhi sādhukaṃ manasikarohi bhāsissāmīti. Evam bhante ti kho Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavato paccassosi, Bhagavā etad avoca. Yasmiṃ kho Subhadda dhammavinaye ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo na upalabbhati samaṇo pi tattha na upalabbhati dutiyo pi tattha samaṇo na upalabbhati tatiyo pi tattha samaṇo na upalabbhati catuttho pi tattha samaṇo na upalabbhati, yasmiṃ ca khò Subhadda dhammavinaye ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo upalabbhati samaṇo pi tattha upalabbhati dutiyo pi tattha samaṇo upalabbhati tatiyo pi tattha samaṇo upalabbhati catuttho pi tattha samaṇo upalabbhati. Imasmiṃ kho Subhadda dhammavinaye ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo upalabbhati, idh' eva Subhadda samaṇo idha dutiyo samaṇo idha tatiyo samaṇo idha catuttho samaṇo, suññā parappavādā samaṇehi

aññe, ime ca Subhadda bhikkhū sammā vihareyyum, asuñño loko arahantehi assa.

Ekūnatimso vayasā Subhadda
Yam pabbajim kimkusalanuesī.
Vassāni paññāsasamādhikāni
Yato aham pabbajito Subhadda,
Ñāyassa dhammassa padesavattī.
Ito bahiddhā samaṇo pi n' atthi

dutiyo pi samaṇo n' atthi tatiyo pi samaṇo n' atthi catuttho pi samaṇo n' atthi, suñña parappavāda samaṇehi aññe, ime ca Subhadda bhikkhū sammā vihareyyum, asuñño loko arahantehi assāti. Evaṃ vutte Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca. Abhikkantaṃ bhante abhikkantaṃ bhante, seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya paṭicchannam vā vivareyya mūlhasa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya andhakāre vā telappajjotaṃ dhāreyya cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintīti, evam evaṃ Bhagavatā anekapariyāyena dhammo pakāsito esāham bhante Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ ca bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ca, labheyyāham Bhagavato santike pabbajam labheyyam upasampadan ti. Yo kho Subhadda añña-titthiyapubbo imasmim dhammavinaye ākaṅkhati pabbajam ākaṅkhati upasampadam so cattāro māse parivasati, catunnam māsānam accayena āraddhacittā bhikkhū pabbājenti upasampādentī bhikkhubhāvāya, api ca m' ettha puggalavemattatā veditā ti. Sace bhante aññatitthiyapubbā imasmim dhammavinaye ākaṅkhaṇtā pabbajam ākaṅkhaṇtā upasampadam cattāro māse parivasanti catunnam māsānam accayena āraddhacittā bhikkhū pabbājenti upasampādentī bhikkhubhāvāya, aham cattāri vassāni parivasissāmi catunnam vassānam accayena āraddhacittā bhikkhū pabbājentu upasampādentu bhikkhubhāvāyāti. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Tena h' Ānanda Subhaddam pabbājethāti. Evaṃ bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Subhaddo paribbājako āyasmantaṃ

¹ Y añño corrected to aññe, P aññehi ² DPZ assāti, S assa ti ⁴ DPS esi ¹⁰ PY aññehi ³⁴ P pabbājehīti.

Ânandam etad avoca. Lâbhâ vo âvuso Ânanda suladdham vo âvuso Ânanda ye ettha Satthu sammukhâ antevâsâbhisekena abhisittâ ti. Alattha kho Subhaddo paribbâjako Bhagavato santike pabbajjam alattha upasampadam, acirûpasampanno kho pan' âyasmâ Subhaddo eko vupakattho appamatto âtâpî pahitatto viharanto nacirass' eva yass' atthâya kulaputtâ sammad eva agârasmâ anagâriyam pabbajanti tad anuttaram brahmacariyapariyosânam ditthe 'va dhamme sayam abhiññâ sacchikatvâ upasampajja vihâsi, khînâ jâti vusitam brahmacariyam katam karanîyam nâparam itthattâyâti abbhaññâsi. Aññâtaro kho pan' âyasmâ Subhaddo arahatam ahosi, so Bhagavato pacchimo sakkhisâvako ahosîti.

Hiraññavatiyabhânavâram niññhitam pañcamam.

Atha kho Bhagavâ âyasmantam Ânandam âmantesi. Siyâ kho pan' Ânanda tumhâkam evam assa, atîtasatthukam pâvacanam n' atthi no satthâ ti, na kho pan' etam Ânanda evam datthabbanî, yo vo Ânanda mayâ dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto so vo mam' accayena satthâ. Yathâ kho pan' Ânanda etarahi bhikkhû aññamaññiam âvusovâdena samudâcaranti na vo mam' accayena evam samudâcaritabbam, theratarena Ânanda bhikkhunâ navakataro bhikkhu nâmena vâ gottena vâ âvusovâdena vâ samudâcaritabbo, navakatarena bhikkhunâ therataro bhikkhu bhante ti vâ âyasmâ ti vâ samudâcaritabbo. Âkañkhamâno Ânanda sañgho mam' accayena khuddânukhuddakâni sikkhâpadâni samûhantu. Channassa Ânanda bhikkhuno mam' accayena brahmadando kâtabbo ti. Katamo pana bhante brahmadando ti. Channo Ânanda bhikkhu yam iccheyya tam vadeyya so bhikkhûhi n'eva vattabbo na ovaðitabbo na anusâsitabbo ti.

Atha kho Bhagavâ bhikkhû âmantesi. Siyâ kho pana bhikkhave ekabhikkhussa pi kañkhâ vâ vimati vâ Buddhê vâ dhamme vâ sañghe vâ magge vâ paṭipadâya vâ pucchatha bhikkhave mâ pacchâvippaṭisârinô ahuvattha, sammukhîbhûto no satthâ ahosi na mayam sakkhimhâ Bhagavantam sam-

² DSYZ *yo for ye*, satthari, P antevâsikâbhisekena, DSYZ abhisitto ⁵ Y vûpak-
¹³ Y hiraññavatiyâ-, P *has merely* bhânavâram pañcamam ²⁷ P dâtabbo.

mukhâ paṭipucchitun ti. Evaṃ vutte te bhikkhû tuṇhî ahesuṃ. Dutiyam pi kho Bhagavâ tatiyam pi kho Bhagavâ bhikkhû âmantesi. Siyâ kho pana bhikkhave ekabhikkhussa pi kaṅkhâ vâ vimati vâ buddhe vâ dhamme vâ saṅghe vâ magge vâ paṭipadâya vâ pucchatha bhikkhave mâ pacchâ-vippaṭisâriṇo ahuvattha, sammukhîbhûto no satthâ ahosi na mayam sakkhimhâ Bhagavantam sammukhâ paṭipucchitun ti. Tatiyam pi kho te bhikkhû tuṇhî ahesuṃ. Atha kho Bhagavâ bhikkhû âmantesi. Siyâ kho pana bhikkhave Satthugâravenâpi na puccheyyâtha sahâyako pi bhikkhave sahâyakassa ârocetûti. Evaṃ vutte te bhikkhû tuṇhî ahesuṃ. Atha kho âyasmâ Ânando Bhagavantam etad avoca. Acchariyam bhante abbhutam bhante evam pasanno aham bhante imasmim bhikkhusaṅghe n'atthi ekabhikkhussa pi kaṅkhâ vâ vimati vâ Buddhe vâ dhamme vâ saṅghe vâ magge vâ paṭipadâya vâ ti. Pasâdâ kho tvaṃ Ânanda vadesi, ñaṇam eva h' ettha Ânanda Tathâgatassa, n' atthi imasmim bhikkhusaṅghe ekabhikkhussa pi kaṅkhâ vâ vimati vâ Buddhe vâ dhamme vâ saṅghe vâ magge vâ paṭipadâya vâ, imesaṃ hi Ânanda pañcannaṃ bhikkhusatânaṃ yo pacchimako bhikkhu so sotâpanno avinipâtadhammo niyato sambodhiparâyaṇo ti.

Atha kho Bhagavâ bhikkhû âmantesi. Handa dâni bhikkhave âmantayâmi vo vayadhammâ saṅkhârâ appamâdena sampâdethâti, ayaṃ Tathâgatassa pacchimâ vâcâ.

Atha kho Bhagavâ paṭhamajjhânaṃ samâpajji, paṭhamajjhânâ vuṭṭhahitvâ dutiyajjhânaṃ samâpajji, dutiyajjhânâ vuṭṭhahitvâ tatiyajjhânaṃ samâpajji, tatiyajjhânâ vuṭṭhahitvâ catutthajjhânaṃ samâpajji, catutthajjhânâ vuṭṭhahitvâ âkâsânañcâyatanam samâpajji, âkâsânañcâyatanasamâpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvâ viññânañcâyatanam samâpajji, viññânañcâyatanasamâpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvâ âkiñcaññâyatanam samâpajji, âkiñcaññâyatanasamâpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvâ nevasaññânâsaññâyatanam samâpajji, nevasaññânâsaññâyatanasamâpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvâ saññâvedayitanirodham samâpajji. Atha kho âyasmâ Ânando âyasmantam Anuruddham etad avoca. Parinibbuto bhante Anuruddha Bhagavâ ti. Na âvuso Ânanda Bhagavâ parinibbuto, saññâvedayitanirodham samâpanno ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā saññāvedayitanirodhasamāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ samāpajji, nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ samāpajji, ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā viññāṇaṇḍīyatanaṃ samāpajji, viññāṇaṇḍīyatanaṃ samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā ākāśaṇḍīyatanaṃ samāpajji, ākāśaṇḍīyatanaṃ samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajji, catutthajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā tatiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji, tatiyajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā duttiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji, duttiyajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā paṭhamajjhānaṃ samāpajji, paṭhamajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā duttiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji, duttiyajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā tatiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji, tatiyajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajji, catutthajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā samanantarā Bhagavā parinibbāyi.

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā mahābhūmicālo ahoṣi bhimsanako lomahaṃso devadundubhiyo ca phaliṃsu.

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā Brahmā Sahampati imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi,

Sabbe 'va nikkhipissanti bhūtā loke samussayaṃ

Yathā etādiso satthā loke appaṭipuggalo

Tathāgato balappatto sambuddho parinibbuto ti.

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā Sakko devānaṃ indo imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi,

Aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhammino,

Uppajjitvā nirujjhanti, tesam vūpasamo sukho ti

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā āyasmā Anuruddho imaṃ gāthāyo abhāsi,

Nāhu assāsapassāso tṭhitacittassa tādino.

Anejo santim ārabha yaṃ kâlam akarî munî

Asallînena cîtena vedanaṃ ajjhavâsayi :

Pajjotasseva nibbānaṃ vimokkho cetaso ahûti.

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā āyasmā Ānando imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi,

Tadā 'si yaṃ bhimsanakam tadā 'si lomahaṃsanam

Sabbākaravarūpete sambuddhe parinibbute ti.

Parinibbute Bhagavati tattha ye te bhikkhū avītarāgā app ekacce bāhā paggayha kandanti chinnapapātaṃ papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti, atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ loke antarahitan ti. Ye pana te bhikkhū vītarāgā te satā sampajānā adhivāsenti, aniccā saṅkhārā taṃ kut' ettha labbhā ti.

Atha kho āyasmā Anuruddho bhikkhū āmantesi. Alāṃ āvuso mā socittha mā paridevittha, na nu etaṃ āvuso Bhagavatā paṭigacc' eva akkhātaṃ, sabbe' eva piyehi manāpehi nānābhāvo vinābhāvo aññathābhāvo, taṃ kut' ettha āvuso labbhā yaṃ taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṅkhataṃ palokadhammaṃ taṃ vata mā palujjīti, n' etaṃ tṭhānaṃ vijjati, devatā āvuso vijjhāyanti. Kathaṃbhūtā pana bhante āyasmā Anuruddho devatā manasikarotīti. Sant' āvuso Ānanda devatā ākāse paṭhavisaññiniyo kese pakiriya kandanti bāhā paggayha kandanti chinnapapātaṃ papatanti avāṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti, atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ loke antarahitan ti. Sant' āvuso Ānanda devatā paṭhaviyā paṭhavisaññiniyo kese pakiriya kandanti bāhā paggayha kandanti chinnapapātaṃ papatanti avāṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti, atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ loke antarahitan ti. Yā pana devatā vītarāgā tā satā sampajānā adhivāsenti, aniccā saṅkhārā taṃ kut' ettha labbhā ti.

Atha kho āyasmā ca Anuruddho āyasmā ca Ānando taṃ rattāvasesaṃ dhammiyā kathāya vītināmesuṃ. Atha kho āyasmā Anuruddho āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi. Gacch' āvuso Ānanda Kusināraṃ pavisitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocehi, parinibbuto Vāsetṭhā Bhagavā, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññathāti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Ānando āyasmato Anuruddhassa paṭissutvā pubbaṃhasamayāṃ nivāsetva patta-civaram ādāya attadutiyo Kusināraṃ pāvisi.

Tena kho pana samayena Kosinārakā Mallā santhāgāre sannipatitā honti ten' eva karaṇīyena. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ santhāgāraṃ ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ āro-

cesi. Parinibbuto Vâsetthâ Bhagavâ yassa dâni kâlam mañña-thâti. Idam âyasmato Ânandassa sutvâ Mallâ ca Mallaputtâ ca Mallasunisâ ca Mallapajâpatiyo ca aghâvino dummanâ cetodukkhasamappitâ app ekacce kese pakiriya kandanti bâhâ paggayha kandanti chinnapapâtam papatanti âvattanti vivattanti, atikhippam Bhagavâ parinibbuto atikhippam Sugato parinibbuto atikhippam cakkhum loka antarahita ti.

Atha kho Kosinârakâ Mallâ purise ânâpesum. Tena hi bhane Kusinârâyam gandhamâlâni ca sabbañi ca tâlâvacaram sannipâtethâti. Atha kho Kosinârakâ Mallâ gandhamâlâni ca sabbañi ca tâlâvacaram pañca ca dussayugasatâni âdâya yena Upavattanam Mallânam sâlavanam yena Bhagavato sarîram ten' upasankamimsu, upasankamitvâ Bhagavato sarîram naccehi gîthehi vâditehi mâlehi gandhehi sakkarontâ garukarontâ mânentâ pûjentâ celavitânâni karontâ maṇḍalamâlâni paṭiyâdentâ evam tam divasam vîtinâmesum.

Atha kho Kosinârakânam Mallânam etad ahosi. Ativikâlo kho ajja Bhagavato sarîram jhâpetum sve dâni mayam Bhagavato sarîram jhâpessâmâti. Atha kho Kosinârakâ Mallâ Bhagavato sarîram naccehi gîthehi vâditehi mâlehi gandhehi sakkarontâ garukarontâ mânentâ pûjentâ celavitânâni karontâ maṇḍalamâlâni paṭiyâdentâ dutiyam pi divasam vîtinâmesum tatiyam pi divasam vîtinâmesum catuttham pi divasam vîtinâmesum pañcamam pi divasam vîtinâmesum chaṭṭham pi divasam vîtinâmesum.

Atha kho sattamam divasam Kosinârakânam Mallânam etad ahosi. Mayam Bhagavato sarîram naccehi gîthehi vâditehi mâlehi gandhehi sakkarontâ garukarontâ mânentâ pûjentâ dakkhiṇena dakkhiṇam nagarassa haritvâ bâhirena bâhiram dakkhiṇato nagarassa Bhagavato sarîram jhâpessâmâti.

Tena kho pana samayena attha Mallapâmokkhâ sîsam nahâtâ ahatâni vatthâni nivatthâ, mayam Bhagavato sarîram uccâressâmâti, na sakkonti uccâretum. Atha kho Kosinârakâ Mallâ âyasmantam Anuruddham etad avocum. Ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo yena 'me attha Mallapâmokkhâ

⁹ D tâlav- ¹¹ D tâlav- ¹⁵ SZ cel- ¹⁶ SZ -mâlâni, Y has maṇḍalamâlâni ²¹ SZ cel- ²² PSZ -mâlâni, Y has maṇḍalamâlâni ²⁶ P sattame dime divase ³³ P nhâtâ ³⁶ P yen' ime.

sīsaṃ nahātā ahatāni vatthāni nivatthā, mayam Bhagavato sarīraṃ uccāressāmāti, na sakkonti uccāretun ti. Aññāthā kho Vāsetṭhā tumhākaṃ adhippāyo aññāthā devatānaṃ adhippāyo ti. Kathaṃ pana bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo ti. Tumhākaṃ kho Vāsetṭhā adhippāyo, mayam Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā dakkhiṇena dakkhiṇaṃ nagarassa haritvā bāhirena bāhiraṃ dakkhiṇato nagarassa Bhagavato sarīraṃ jhāpessāmāti : devatānaṃ kho Vāsetṭhā adhippāyo, mayam Bhagavato sarīraṃ dibbehi naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā uttarena uttaraṃ nagarassa haritvā uttarena dvārena nagaraṃ pavesetvā majjhena majjhaṃ nagarassa haritvā puratthimena dvārena nikkhamitvā puratthimato nagarassa Makuta-bandhanaṃ nāma Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ ettha Bhagavato sarīraṃ jhāpessāmāti. Yathā bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo tathā hotūti.

Tena kho pana samayena Kusinārā yāva sandhisamala-saṅkaṭṭirā jaṇṇumattena odhinā mandāravapupphehi santhatā hoti. Atha kho devatā ca Kosinārakā ca Mallā Bhagavato sarīraṃ dibbehi ca mānusahehi ca naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā uttarena uttaraṃ nagarassa haritvā uttarena dvārena nagaraṃ pavesetvā majjhena majjhaṃ nagarassa haritvā puratthimena dvārena nikkhamitvā puratthimato nagarassa Makuta-bandhanaṃ nāma Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ ettha Bhagavato sarīraṃ nikkhipiṃsu.

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avocun. Kathaṃ mayam bhante Ānanda Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjāmāti. Yathā kho Vāsetṭhā rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjitabban ti. Kathaṃ pana bhante Ānanda rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjantīti. Rañño Vāsetṭhā cakkavattissa sarīraṃ ahatena vatthena veṭhenti ahatena vatthena veṭhetvā vihatena kappāsena veṭhenti vihatena kappāsena veṭhetvā ahatena vatthena veṭhenti, etena upāyena

pañcahi yugasatehi rañño cakkavattissa sarīram veṭhetvā ayasāya teladoniyā pakkhipitvā aññissā ayasāya doniyā paṭi-kujjitvā sabbagandhānam citakam karitvā rañño cakkavat-tissa sarīram jhāpenti, cātummahāpathe rañño cakkavattissa thūpaṁ karonti. Evaṁ kho Vāsetṭhā rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti. Yathā kho Vāsetṭhā rañño cakkavat-tissa sarīre paṭipajjanti evaṁ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipaj-jitabbaṁ. Cātummahāpathe Tathāgatassa thūpo kātabbo, tattha ye mālaṁ vā gandhaṁ vā vaṇṇakaṁ vā āropessanti abhivādessanti vā cittaṁ vā pasādessanti tesan taṁ bhavissati digharattaṁ hitāya sukhāyāti.

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā purise ānāpesuṁ. Tena hi bhāṇe Mallānaṁ vihatāṁ kappāsaṁ sannipātethāti. Atha kho Kosi-nārakā Mallā Bhagavato sarīram ahatena vatthena veṭhesuṁ ahatena vatthena veṭhetvā vihatena kappāsena veṭhesuṁ vi-hatena kappāsena veṭhetvā ahatena vatthena veṭhesuṁ, etena upāyena pañcahi yugasatehi Bhagavato sarīram veṭhetvā ayasāya teladoniyā pakkhipitvā aññissā ayasāya doniyā paṭi-kujjitvā sabbagandhānam citakam karitvā Bhagavato sarī-ram citakam āropesuṁ.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Mahākassapo Pāvāya Kusināraṁ addhānamaggapaṭipanno hoti mahatā bhikkhu-saṅghena saddhim pañcamattehi bhikkhusatehi. Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo maggā okkamma aññītarasmiṁ ruk-khamūle nisīdi. Tena kho pana samayena aññītaro ājīvako Kusinārāya mandāravapupphaṁ gahetvā Pāvaṁ addhāna-maggapaṭipanno hoti. Addasā kho āyasmā Mahākassapo ājīvakaṁ dūrato 'va āgacchantāṁ disvā taṁ ājīvakaṁ etad avoca. Ap' āyuso ambhākaṁ satthāraṁ jānāsīti. Āma āvuso jānāmi, ajja sattāhapaṇinibbuto samaṇo Gotamo, tato me idaṁ mandāravapuppham gahitaṁ ti: tattha ye te bhikkhū avitarā-gā app ekacce bāhā paggayha kandanti chinnapapātam papa-tanti āvattanti vivattanti, atikhippaṁ Bhagavā parinibbuto atikhippaṁ Sugato parinibbuto atikhippaṁ cakkhuṁ loke antarahitaṁ ti, ye pana te bhikkhū vitarāgā te satā sampa-jānā adhivāsenti, aniccā saṅkhārā taṁ kut' ettha labbhā ti.

Tena kho pana samayena Subhaddo nāma buddhapabbajito tassam parisāyaṃ nisinno hoti. Atha kho Subhaddo buddhapabbajito te bhikkhū etad avoca. Alaṃ āvuso mā socittha mā paridevittha, sumuttā mayaṃ tena mahāsamaṇena, upaddutā ca homa idaṃ vo kappatī idaṃ vo na kappatīti, idāni pana mayaṃ yaṃ icchissāma taṃ karissāma yaṃ na icchissāma taṃ na karissāmāti.

Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo bhikkhū āmantesi. Alaṃ āvuso mā socittha mā paridevittha na nu etaṃ āvuso Bhagavatā paṭigacce 'va akkhātāṃ, sabbe' eva piyehi manāpehi nānābhāvo vinābhāvo aññathābhāvo taṃ kut' ettha āvuso labbhā yaṃ taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṅkhataṃ palokadhammaṃ taṃ vata mā palujjīti n' etaṃ tṭhānaṃ vijjatīti.

Tena kho pana samayena cattāro Mallapāmokkhā sīsaṃ nahātā ahatāni vatthāni nivatthā mayaṃ Bhagavato citakaṃ ālimpessāmāti na sakkonti ālimpetun. Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā āyasmantaṃ Anuruddhaṃ etad avocun. Ko nu kho bhante Anuruddha hetu ko paccayo yena 'me cattāro Mallapāmokkhā sīsaṃ nahātā ahatena vatthena nivatthā mayaṃ Bhagavato citakaṃ ālimpessāmāti na sakkonti ālimpetun ti. Aññathā kho Vāsetṭhā devatānaṃ adhippāyo ti. Kathaṃ pana bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo ti. Devatānaṃ kho Vāsetṭhā adhippāyo, yaṃ āyasmā Mahākassapo Pāvāya Kusināraṃ addhānamaggapaṭipanno mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṃ pañcamattehi bhikkhusatehi, na tva Bhagavato citako pajjalissati yāv' āyasmā Mahākassapo Bhagavato pāde sirasā na vandissatīti. Yathā bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo tathā hotīti.

Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo yena Kusinārā Makuṭabandhanāṃ Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ yena Bhagavato citako ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā añjalim paṇāmetvā tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pādato vīvaritvā Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandi. Tāni pi kho pañca bhikkhusatāni ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā añjalim paṇāmetvā tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandimsu. Vandite ca pan' āyasmatā Mahākassapena tehi

ca pañcahi bhikkhusatehi sayam eva Bhagavato citako pajjali. Jhâyamânassa pana Bhagavato sarîrassa yañ ahosi chavîti vâ camman ti vâ mañsan ti vâ nahârûti vâ lasikâ ti vâ tassa n' eva chârîkâ paññâyittha na masi sarîrân' eva avasissimsu. Seyyathâ pi nâma sappissa vâ telassa vâ jhâyamânassa n' eva chârîkâ paññâyati na masi evam evam Bhagavato sarîrassa jhâyamânassa yañ ahosi chavîti vâ camman ti vâ mañsan ti vâ nahârûti vâ lasikâ ti vâ tassa n' eva chârîkâ paññâyittha na masi, sarîrân' eva avasissimsu, tesañ ca pañcannañ dussayugasatânañ dve 'va dussâni dayhimsu yañ ca sabba-abbhantarimañ yañ ca bâhirañ. Daḍḍhe kho pana Bhagavato sarîre antalikkhâ udakadhârâ pâ tubhavitvâ Bhagavato citakañ nibbâpesi, udakasâlato pi abbhunnamitvâ Bhagavato citakañ nibbâpesi, Kosinârakâ pi Mallâ sabbagandhodakena Bhagavato citakañ nibbâpesum.

Atha kho Kosinârakâ Mallâ Bhagavato sarîrâni sattâhañ santhâgâre sattapañjarañ karitvâ dhanupâkârañ parikkhipitvâ naccehi gîtehi vâditehi mâlehi gandhehi sakkarimsu garukarimsu mânesum pûjesum.

Assosi kho rājâ Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto, Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyañ parinibbuto ti. Atha kho rājâ Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Kosinârakânañ Mallānañ dūtañ pâhesi, Bhagavā pi khattiyo aham pi khattiyo, aham pi arahāmi Bhagavato sarîrānañ bhāgañ, aham pi Bhagavato sarîrānañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmīti.

Assosum kho Vesālîkâ Licchavî, Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyañ parinibbuto ti. Atha kho Vesālîkâ Licchavî Kosinârakânañ Mallānañ dūtañ pâhesum, Bhagavā pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyâ, mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarîrānañ bhāgañ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarîrānañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmīti.

Assosum kho Kâpilavatthavâ Sakyâ, Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyañ parinibbuto ti. Atha kho Kâpilavatthavâ Sakyâ Kosinârakânañ Mallānañ dūtañ pâhesum, Bhagavā amhâkañ ñâtisettḥo, mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarîrānañ bhāgañ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarîrānañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmīti.

Assosum kho Allakappakâ Bulayo, Bhagavâ kira Kusinârâyam parinibbuto ti. Atha kho Allakappakâ Bulayo Kosinârakânam Mallânânam dûtam pâhesum, Bhagavâ pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyâ, mayam pi arahâma Bhagavato sarîrânânam bhâgam, mayam pi Bhagavato sarîrânânam thûpañ ca mahañ ca karissâmâti.

Assosum kho Râmagâmakâ Koliyâ, Bhagavâ kira Kusinârâyam parinibbuto ti. Atha kho Râmagâmakâ Koliyâ Kosinârakânam Mallânânam dûtam pâhesum, Bhagavâ pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyâ, mayam pi arahâma Bhagavato sarîrânânam bhâgam, mayam pi Bhagavato sarîrânânam thûpañ ca mahañ ca karissâmâti.

Assosi kho Veṭṭhadîpako brâhmaṇo, Bhagavâ kira Kusinârâyam parinibbuto ti. Atha kho Veṭṭhadîpako brâhmaṇo Kosinârakânam Mallânânam dûtam pâhesi, Bhagavâ pi khattiyo aham asmi brâhmaṇo, aham pi arahâmi Bhagavato sarîrânânam bhâgam, aham pi Bhagavato sarîrânânam thûpañ ca mahañ ca karissâmîti.

Assosum kho Pâveyyakâ Mallâ, Bhagavâ kira Kusinârâyam parinibbuto ti. Atha kho Pâveyyakâ Mallâ Kosinârakânam Mallânânam dûtam pâhesum, Bhagavâ pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyâ, mayam pi arahâma Bhagavato sarîrânânam bhâgam, mayam pi Bhagavato sarîrânânam thûpañ ca mahañ ca karissâmâti.

Evam vutte Kosinârakâ Mallâ te saṅghe gaṇe etad avocum. Bhagavâ amhakaṃ gâmakkhette parinibbuto, na mayam dassâma Bhagavato sarîrânânam bhâgan ti. Evam vutte Doṇo brâhmaṇo te saṅghe gaṇe etad avoca,

Supantu bhonto mama ekavâkyam.
Amhakaṃ Buddho ahu khantivâdo.
Na hi sâdh' ayam uttamapuggalassa
Sarîrabhaṅge siyâ sampahâro.
Sabbe 'va bhonto sahitâ samaggâ
Sammodamânâ karom' atṭha bhâge,
Vitthârikâ hontu disâsu thûpâ,
Bahujjano cakkhumato pasanno ti.

Tena hi brâhmaṇa tvañ ñeva Bhagavato sarîrâni atthadhâ samañ suvibhattaṃ vibhajâhîti. Evañ bho ti kho Doṇo brâhmaṇo tesañ saṅghânañ gaṇânañ paṭissutvâ Bhagavato sarîrâni atthadhâ samañ suvibhattaṃ vibhajitvâ te saṅhe gaṇe etad avoca. Imañ me bhonto kumbhañ dadantu aham pi kumbhassa thûpañ ca mahañ ca karissâmîti. Adamsu kho te Doṇassa brâhmaṇassa kumbhañ.

Assosun kho Pippthalivaniyâ Moriyâ, Bhagavâ kira Kusi-nârâyañ parinibbuto ti. Atha kho Pippthalivaniyâ Moriyâ Kosinârakânañ Mallânañ dûtâñ pâhesun, Bhagavâ pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyâ, mayam pi arahâma Bhagavato sarîrânañ bhâgañ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarîrânañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca karissâmîti. N'atthi Bhagavato sarîrânañ bhâgo vibhattâni Bhagavato sarîrâni ito aṅgârañ harathâti, te tato aṅgârañ harimsu.

Atha kho râjâ Mâgadho Ajâtasattu Vedehiputto Râjagahe Bhagavato sarîrânañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca akâsi. Vesâlikâ pi Licchavi Vesâliyañ Bhagavato sarîrânañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu. Kâpilavatthavâ pi Sakyâ Kapilavatthusmim Bhagavato sarîrânañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu. Allakappakâ pi Bulayo Allakappe Bhagavato sarîrânañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu. Râmagâmakâ pi Koliyâ Râmagâme Bhagavato sarîrânañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu. Vethadîpako pi brâhmaṇo Vethadîpe Bhagavato sarîrânañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca akâsi. Pâveyyakâ pi Mallâ Pâvâyañ Bhagavato sarîrânañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu. Kosinâ-rakâ Mallâ Kusi-nârâyañ Bhagavato sarîrânañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu. Doṇo pi brâhmaṇo kumbhassa thûpañ ca mahañ ca akâsi. Pippthalivaniyâ pi Moriyâ Pippthalivane aṅgârañ thûpañ ca mahañ ca akaṃsu. Iti atth' assa sarîra-thûpâ navamo kumbhathûpo dasamo aṅgârathûpo evam etañ bhûtapubban ti.

Atthadoṇaṃ cakkhumato sarîrañ sattadoṇaṃ Jambudîpe mahenti.

Ekañ ca doṇaṃ purisavaruttamassa, Râmagâme nâgarâjâ mahenti.

Ekā hi dāṭhā tidivehi pūjitā, ekā pana Gandhārapure ma-
hiyati,

Kālingarañño vijite pun' ekam, ekam puna nāgarājā ma-
henti.

Tass' eva tejena ayam vasundharā āyāgasetṭhehi mahi
alaṅkatā.

Evam imam cakkhumato sarīram susakkatam sakkata-
sakkatehi.

Devindanāgindanarindapūjito manussindasetṭhehi tath' eva
pūjito.

Tam vandatha pañjalikā bhavitvā, Buddho have kappasa-
tehi dullabho ti.

Mahāparinibbānasuttantam niṭṭhitam.

¹² DSZ buddhā ¹³ DSZ dullabhā. P adds the following stanza: Cattālīsamā
(*lege cattālīsasamā*) dantā kesā lomā ca sabbaso || devā hariṃsu ekekaṃ cakka-
vālaparamparā ti ¹³ P reads mahāpurinibbānasuttaṃ tatiyaṃ.

(The Translation will be published in a future Number.)

ART. VII.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* Part III.—
The Kara Khitai. By H. H. HOWORTH.

THE history of Central Asia before the days of Jingis Khan is singularly complicated and obscure; and if we are to make our way among its mazes, we can only do so profitably by concentrating our attention on the larger empires which then flourished, and integrating the scattered facts that have survived to our day about the lesser powers around them. The empire which held this dominant position at the accession of Jingis was that of Kara Khitai, a short-lived, but also an important power, which held sway with more or less authority from the Caspian to the borders of China, and thus formed in some measure a model, upon which the later Mongol Empire was framed, assisting, also, very considerably in its formation, since, when it fell, a large, disciplined and compact territory was added to it. With your permission, I propose to collect together so much of its history as I can meet with, and to clear up some difficulties that attach to it.

Kara Khitai, or Black Khitai, is a correlative term to Khitai, and the empire was so named because it was founded by a member of the Imperial family of the Liau or Khitan dynasty, who escaped from China when that dynasty was overthrown by the Kin or Golden Tatars. The term Black was applied to it by the Muhammedan historians, either because of its inferior and secondary position to Khitai proper (in the same way that they speak of Kara Kirghises, etc.), or because the Kara Khitai were Kaffirs or infidels. To the Chinese the empire was known as that of the Si Liau or Western Liau, and a short account of its history is appended to the Annals of the Liau proper, or Eastern Liau, from which Visdelou, De Mailla, and others have taken their accounts. Mr. Douglas has most obligingly collated a large part of the original for me.

The founder of the empire, according to the Chinese narrative, which on such a point is very conclusive, was Yelu Taishi. Yelu was the family name of the Liau Imperial family, borne apparently by all its members. Taishi is assuredly the Mongol title, Taishi meaning lord or grandee.

Among the Persian writers he was known by a slightly different name. One of the copies of Raschid at Paris, according to Klaproth, calls him Nushi thaifu, another Nushi thalfun or thaifun; the Kazan edition of Abulghazi calls him Nusi Thaifda, the Berlin MS. of the same author calls him Nusi thaifdan; while the two translations of the same author call him Nusi taigir ili.¹ Nushi, or Nusi, I take to be the western form of Niuchi or Juchi, the well-known names of the Kin Tatars. Of the second name, thaifu, according to Klaproth, is the right form. It is a Chinese title meaning lord,² and is therefore a translation of the native title Taishi. The two names together mean the Niuchi Lord, a misnomer easily explained by the fact that the Kin Tatars were masters of China when Yelu Taishi migrated. We are told that Yelu Taishi was eighth in descent from Apaoki, the founder of the Liau monarchy, and that he bore the honorary surname of Chun te, meaning one who values virtue very highly.³

He was well acquainted with the Chinese and Khitan literature, and was placed among the Chinese doctors in the examination of 1115. He was among the doctors who was chosen to take charge of the Imperial Academy. He, afterwards, rose to the highest dignities, but he continued to use the title of Lin ya.⁴ Lin ya was the Khitan equivalent of the Chinese Han lin, *i.e.* Academy, and Yelu Lin ya, the name by which he continued to be known, means Yelu the Academician. He was also well skilled in war, and none of his officers was a better archer than he either on foot or on horseback.⁵ In 1122 Yelu yen hi, the Liau Emperor, who was a frivolous person, being hard pressed by the Kin Tatars, abandoned the province of Yen, *i.e.* Peking, and

¹ Klaproth, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vol. ii. p. 298, note 2.

² *id.* ³ Visdelou, p. 28. ⁴ Visdelou, p. 28. ⁵ De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 399.

fled with the Imperial seal to the district of Yun chong.¹ Several of the grandees of the empire upon this met together and elected Yelu chun in his place.

Yelu chun gave Yelu Taishi charge of the war department.² Visdelou says he was named viceroy and generalissimo.³ And the same year, in conjunction with Siu wa, he defeated a vast army of the Kin Tatars who had invaded the empire.⁴ Almost directly after this Yelu chun died, and his widow Siao ti was declared regent. She was soon attacked in her capital by the Kin Tatars, and forced to fly. She escaped to the Emperor who had fled, *i.e.* to Yelu yen hi, who put her to death. This Emperor had apparently fled to the Inshan mountains, where he was pursued by the Kin generals, who captured Yelu Taishi at the fortress of Kiu yong koan; and soon after they captured the Imperial camp, with the harem, etc., etc., and more than 10,000 carts filled with valuables, etc. The Emperor himself, with his second son Yelu yali, and some others, escaped, but was sharply pursued, and having been again beaten, fled towards the empire of Hia. In their distress some of his followers nominated his son Yelu yali to the throne.⁵ Meanwhile Yelu Taishi, having regained his liberty, rejoined his former master Yelu yen hi, who, after a short stay in Hia, deemed it prudent to leave that country, to cross the Hoang-ho, and to take shelter with the tribe *Huliupu*, by whom he was well received. The greeting between the two princes was not very cordial. Yelu yen hi reproached Yelu Taishi with having displaced him by another while he was still living; but the latter had not much difficulty in defending his conduct, on the ground of the critical state of the empire. He also added that the prince whom they had elected belonged to his own royal stock, and was a descendant of Apaoki. The Emperor, being reconciled by these excuses, forgave him. Meanwhile the Kin troops continued their pursuit of him, and he was obliged to escape further north. One Mukusi, of the tribe *Siouiei*, came to him with a troop of soldiers, and escorted him to the tribe

¹ *id.* p. 397. ² *id.* p. 399. ³ *op. cit.* p. 28. ⁴ De Mailla, *op. cit.* p. 401.

⁵ De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 409, 410.

Utiliei. His spirits now began to revive, and he urged that it was time he should retrace his steps, and try and recover his lost provinces of Yen and Yun chong; but this was opposed by the prudent Yelu Taishi, who reminded him that if he could not resist the enemy when his forces were powerful, it was hardly likely that he could make head against them now.¹

The Liau Emperor was not to be turned from his purpose, but marched away to his ruin. Having crossed the mountain Kin chan, he succeeded in capturing several towns, including Uchan. Elated by this success, he marched against the Kin troops, but was defeated, and fled towards San in, and then once more went to Kia chan. In his distress, he was offered an asylum by the chief of the Tang hiang (the tribe which gave its name to Tangut). As he was crossing the desert on his way there, he was surprised by the Kin troops, and his escort was dispersed, and he arrived in the country of Tieu-ti in great distress, and suffered both from the severity of the weather and the want of provisions. He, at length, reached the country of Tang hiang, and was received there by the king with marks of great respect. He had, however, not yet reached its capital, Ing chau, but was captured on his way there by the Kin general Leou shi, who had pursued him closely. He fell ill, and died some months later.²

Let us revert once more to Yelu Taishi. Annoyed that his advice was not followed, he at length determined to abandon his master, and to try his fortune elsewhere.³ He first killed certain grandees whom he believed to have misled the rash Emperor. Among these the names of Siao-yi-sie and Po-li-kouo are mentioned.⁴ We are told that, having taken the title of Prince, he put himself at the head of 200 horsemen, and marched towards the west. It would seem that he started from the country of the Ordus, for we are told that after a three days' march he crossed the river Hechui, in Mongol Karasu, *i.e.* Black Water.⁵ This

¹ De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 414, 415.

² De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 415-418.

³ De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 415.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 419, note; Visdelou, p. 29.

⁵ Visdelou, *ibid.*

is no doubt the Kara Muren, or Black River, the name by which the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, was known to Rashid, Marco Polo, Odoric, and Maringnolli; a name by which it is still known to the Mongols.¹ Having crossed the river, fleeing northwards, he met Chuam-ghur, the Souancour of De Mailla, the Siang-kwun of the White Tatars. Visdelou calls him the Viceroy of the Liau Emperors who commanded the White Tatars.

By the term Petata, or White Tatars, we are no doubt to understand the Onguts, or White Tatars of the time of Jingis Khan, who seem to have been in the pay of the Khitan Emperors, who employed them as a garrison on the frontier.² That they were only a weak and small tribe may be surmised from the small assistance Yelu Taishi received from the Chuam-ghur. We are told he gave him 400 horses, twenty camels, and some herds of sheep. Yelu Taishi now continued his journey westward, and arrived at the town of Khatun-ching. By this town we are no doubt to understand the Khatun-ching of the Hoei hu, which was situated 170 leagues north-west of the chief capital of the Liau dynasty, namely, of the town of Ling hoan fu. We are told it was on the road from China to the kingdom of Uighur.³ There was another town of the same name 300 leagues north-west of Ling hoan fu. The name means the "town of the empress," and Visdelou tells us these towns were built for the Chinese princesses whom the chiefs of the Thukiu and the Hoei hu, *i.e.* of the Turks and Uighurs, had married in the days of their grandeur.⁴ At that time, the one to which Yelu Taishi went was the residence of the Chinese generalissimo, who had the control of all Tatar.⁵ Yelu Taishi stayed some time there, and there came to meet him many chiefs of the Nomad tribes, who came to pay him honour as a member of the Imperial family of Liau. Visdelou says there came deputies from seven provinces and from eighteen tribes. The editor of De Mailla says there came

¹ Yule's Marco Polo, second edition, vol. ii. p. 17.

² D'Olsson, vol. i. p. 84, note.

³ Visdelou, *ibid.* p. 29.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Mr. Douglas, gloss on Visdelou.

the Governor of Wei-u-chan (*i.e.* the city of Uighur) and of six other towns, and the chiefs of seventeen hordes. I believe the former part of the sentence to be a confusion, and that the person meant was Siao gih li lu, a chief of the Uighurs, who was a companion of Yelu Taishi in his later campaigns. In the Liau Annals he is called the prince of the six courts, according to Mr. Douglas. Six courts is, in fact, the translation of Bishbalig, which consisted of six towns, and was the patrimony of the Uighur chiefs. With regard to these tribes, Visdelou says, he does not mention their names, as they were unknown in Europe. Mr. Douglas has kindly abstracted them for me. They are as follows:—

Ta Wang Shih wei Tih leue,	originally Ti la.
Ang kih urh,	originally Wangki la.
Cha cha li,	originally Cha chih la.
Yo-hi,	originally Ye hi.
Poo koo tih,	originally Pi koo tih.
Na la,	originally Ni la.
Tah urh kan,	originally Tah la kwai.
Tah mih li,	
Moh urh ki,	originally Mih urh ke.
Ho choh,	originally Hō choo.
Woo koo li,	
Chun poo,	originally Tsoo poh.
Poh koh shih kivan,	originally Poo suh hwan.
Tang koo hoo muh soo,	originally Hwuh moo sze.
Hi tah,	originally Ki tih.
Tsi leh pei,	originally Kiu urh pih.

I have refrained from trying to identify these tribes in detail, as the question is a very difficult one, and needs a good deal of further enquiry.

The deputies of these various tribes having assembled together, he thus addressed them: "My ancestors founded a vast empire with immense trouble, and they have ruled it for 200 years, and during the reigns of nine consecutive Emperors. The Kin Tatars, who were formerly their subjects, have oppressed them. They have massacred our

people and ravaged our towns. Lastly, they have compelled our Emperor, Thien tso, to fly ignominiously, and to abandon his country. He is in perpetual trouble. I now seek justice. I have come westward to enlist your forces, to destroy our common enemies, and to recover my empire. Are you not moved with compassion at the state of the empire? Can you see without grief the temples of its tutelary genii overthrown? Will you not go to the aid of your father and Emperor? Will you view with indifference the misery of the people?"¹ The assembly raised him an army of picked horsemen which numbered 10,000 men, and which Yelu Taishi distributed into companies and regiments, giving it officers and arms. In the following year, *i.e.* in 1125, on the day of the second month called Kia u, he sacrificed a black calf and a white horse to the sky, the earth, and his ancestors, and having ranged his army in order of battle, he set out. Before doing so, however, he wrote a letter to Pileko or Pilkha, the chief King of the Hoei hu or Uighurs, in the following terms: "In old days the founder of my dynasty having carried his victorious arms northward as far as the town of Pu ku han (? the town built by Buku Khan of the Uighurs as his capital, *i.e.* Karakorum), sent a letter to your ancestor U mu chu to Kan chau, which was couched pretty much in these terms: 'Do you still think of your old country? If you do so, I, the Emperor, wish to give it back to you; but if you cannot come and receive it from my hands, I will retain it. It is indifferent whether it remains in your hands or in mine.' Your ancestor answered that 'he had for more than ten generations abandoned that country, and had established himself in China, that he and his soldiers were content with the country where they were, and that they would not quit it voluntarily, and that consequently it was not possible for him to return to his old country.' It is not, therefore, now for the first time that my empire has had friendly intercourse with yours. I intend to march to the country of Tashih. I only ask for permission to cross your territory. Don't have any suspicions with regard to

¹ Visdelou, p. 29.

the matter." With reference to this former intercourse with the Turkish Khan, I find it mentioned in Visdelou's account of the Khitan Empire under the year 924: "It would appear that this Khan dominated over the country as far as China. The town of Kan chau, a well-known town of Shensi, was then apparently governed by one of his deputies named *Pi li gho*, who is called Tutu, *i.e.* general or commander of a province."¹ Visdelou has translated Tashih or Tagi, as De Mailla has it, by Arabia, but this is a mistake. Arabia is called Ta shih kwoh. By Tashih is meant no doubt the country of the Tajiks, *i.e.* Persia.

It has been, generally, supposed that the Piliku of the Chinese narrative, with whom Yelu Taishi corresponded, was the Khan of Turkestan, whose capital was at Balasaghun, and who is usually described as of the Afrasiab dynasty, but I believe this to be a mistake. Yelu Taishi, in retiring westwards along the northern side of the Celestial Mountains, would have to pass a Turkish kingdom which was at this time much more important than Turkestan, and which, apparently, dominated over all the Turks from the Jaxartes to the borders of China. This kingdom is called that of the Lion Hoei tche or Lion Uighurs of Kashgar by Visdelou, and is known to the Arabs as the kingdom of the Tagazgaz. The name Lion Hoei tche these Turks acquired from their chiefs, who were styled Arslan Khans, *i.e.* Lion Khans. Their northern capital was Almaligh, a well-known name in the middle age history of Central Asia. The site of Almaligh, which means City of Apples, is well known. It is fixed both by the Chinese geographers, and also by evidence from other sources, on the site of the modern city of old Kuldja, on the river Ili.

Like the Jagatai Khans at a later date, these Khans held dominion both at Almaligh and Kashgar, and, as in their case also, Almaligh was the metropolitan city of their kingdom, and it stood directly in the line of march of the exile from China, whose journey we are tracing. I have no doubt, therefore, that it was to its chief, the Lion Khan of

¹ Visdelou, *op. cit.* pp. 130, 191.

the Uighurs, that his letter was addressed. We are told that Pileku had hardly received Yelu Taishi's letter, when he set out to meet him. He entertained him for three days, and when he was about to depart, he presented him with 600 horses, 100 camels, and 3000 sheep, gave him some of his sons and grandsons as hostages, and accompanied him to the borders of his kingdom. Visdelou¹ says he made himself tributary, but Mr. Douglas tells me that there is no mention of this fact in the original.

So far there is no difficulty in tracing our traveller's march; but, at this point, where the Persian authorities become more detailed, they are somewhat at issue with the Chinese narrative. According to the latter, Yelu Taishi now marched into Maver al Nahar, and having defeated the forces of the Western king, had himself proclaimed Ghur Khan, and this in the year 1125. The Persian writers, who can hardly be mistaken, describe his great battle with Sanjar, the Persian sovereign, in some detail, and place it ten or twelve years later. It is hardly credible that, with the small force he as yet mustered (if we are to credit the Chinese narrative), he should have successfully fought with the army of the Seljuks, which was over 100,000 strong. It is much more likely that the Chinese narrative is too condensed, and that one chapter of the story has dropped out. This is confirmed by the *Pei shi ki*, translated by Dr. Bretschneider, where we read that Yelu Taishi wandered about *for several years* before he reached the Yin shan (*i.e.* probably the Talki mountains), which he could not penetrate owing to the rocks and snows. They had to leave their carts behind, and to carry their baggage on camels. Thus they arrived in the country of Hui ho, took possession of the land, and founded an empire. According to the Persian accounts, he first made a raid upon the country of the Kirghises (that is, turned northwards into Northern Sungaria), but finding that the Kirghises mustered strongly to oppose him, he retired to the country of the Imil, where he founded a town, whose ruins, according to Juveni, remained in his day.²

¹ *op. cit.* p. 30.

² D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 442.

Juveni goes on to tell us that, having been joined by certain Turkish tribes, the prince of the Khitans found himself at the head of 40,000 families, and he marched towards Balasaghun, a town which the Mongols call Gu Balik. The sovereign of that country, who claimed to be a descendant of Afrasiab, was no longer powerful. He no longer controlled the tribes of Kankalis and Karluks who roamed there, who had not only broken off their allegiance, but also made attacks upon his territory. Unable to defend it, he sent convoys to the chieftain of the multitude which was now approaching his country, to invite him to his capital, announcing his intention of surrendering his throne to him, and of retiring himself elsewhere. The Khitan Prince upon this repaired to Balasaghun, and having seated himself on the throne, he deprived the descendant of Afrasiab of his title of Khan, leaving him only that of Ilk Turkan, *i.e.* chief of the Turks.¹ In the *Tabakat i Nasiri*, translated by Major Raverty, we find, in the account of the reign of the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar, the following sentence:—"After a great part of his reign had elapsed, a body of people from Kara Khatai, from Tamghaj and the dependencies of China, entered the confines of Kara Korum of Turkestan, and solicited Sultan Sanjar to assign them grazing lands, and with the Sultan's permission they took up their quarters on those confines in Balasaghun, Kabalik and Almaligh, and made those parts their grazing ground."² The latter author is mistaken in supposing that Turkestan was then subject to Sanjar, otherwise the accounts seem to be quite trustworthy.

We may now continue our story from the Chinese authors. Yelu Taishi's forces having increased very considerably, we are told he marched laden with spoils and followed by a huge number of horses, camels, cattle, and sheep, and having marched some 10,000 *li*, he at length arrived at Ta chih kan, originally called Sunsecan.³ There the kingdoms of Siyu or the west had collected 100,000 men, called Hulasan or

¹ Juveni, translated by D'Ohsson, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 442.

² *op. cit.* p. 154.

³ By this Samarkand is no doubt meant. Visdelon's translation, at this point, is very faulty; he calls the place Tsin se yiu. I have followed Mr. Douglas.

Hursan, to oppose him.¹ By Hulasan or Hursan, I have no doubt that Khorasan is meant. This does not seem to have been before suggested. The two armies were two *li* from one another. Yelu Taishi proceeded to address his troops, and told them that, although the enemy were numerous, they had no definite plan of fighting, and that, when attacked, their various divisions would not be able to render mutual assistance to one another, and that the victory, therefore, would remain with him. He divided his army into three bodies. He sent Siao wa li la, the Prince of the six courts (*i.e.* of Bishbalig, or of the Uighurs), and the General Yelu sum shan, with 2500 men, to attack the enemy's right. He entrusted the same number of men to Siao cha lun pu (originally la pu) and the General Yelu lun su (the Yelu munie of Visdelou), with which to attack the enemy's left, while he himself, with the rest of the army, attacked the centre. The three bodies attacked the Hursan and completely defeated them. The ground was strewn with the dead for a space of many leagues, and Yelu Taishi encamped his army at Ta chih kan for eighty days, during which many kings of the Hwei Hwei, *i.e.* Muhammedans, went to do homage and to pay tribute to him.²

I have no doubt that this fight is the same as the great defeat of the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar which is described by the Persian historians. According to them, the Kara Khitais, having increased very much, rebelled against the authority of Sultan Sanjar, and fought a battle against him. According to the not very critical author of the *Tabakat i Nasiri*, Taniko of Taraz, at the nomination of Sunkam and Ima, was at the head of the Khitais. He tells us that "the Sultan's forces, from a long period of inaction, and from being enervated by protracted ease and luxury, were unable to cope with or stand before the enemy, and were overthrown."³ The battle was fought at Samarkand, and, in alliance with the chief of Kara Khitai, was At Khan,⁴ probably the dispos-

¹ Visdelou says 100,000 men commanded by Hursan, but he is clearly wrong. De Mailla's editor and Mr. Douglas are both agreed in translating the passage as here given.

² Visdelou, *op. cit.* pp. 30-31; De Mailla, *op. cit.* vol. viii. p. 420.

³ Raverty's Notes, *ibid.* pp. 154, 237. ⁴ *Tabakat i Nasiri*, by Raverty, p. 154.

sessed Khan of Turkestan. Among the prisoners captured was Turkan Khatun, who was the Malikah i Jahan (Queen of the Universe), and consort of Sultan Sanjar, the Malek of Nimruz, and many other great men. Sanjar himself retreated to Termez, while the Kara Khitai overran Maver al Nahar, slaying, devastating, and making the people captive, and killing many great men.¹

I have no hesitation in identifying this great defeat of Sultan Sanjar, the Seljuk ruler of Khorasan, with the defeat of the army of Hursan, as described in the Chinese Annals. The same battle, it has been suggested, is also referred to by Benjamin of Tudela, in his curious narrative; but, as I shall show, in my forthcoming history of the Mongols, the reference there is to the defeat of Sultan Sanjar by the Kaffir Turks or Ghusses. With regard to the dates, while some of the Persian writers, such as Guzidah and Muntakhab ut Tawárikh, date the battle in the year 535 of the Hegira (*i.e.* in 1139²), others date the same event in 536.³ But the most critical of these historians, the great Rashid ud din, distinctly states that the ruler of Kara Khitai adopted the title of Gur Khan (which was after the great battle) in the year 525 of the Hejra (*i.e.* in 1129⁴), which is much nearer to the Chinese account.

Let us now continue our story. After staying for eighty days, as I have described, in the neighbourhood of Samarkand, Yelu Taishi continued his route westwards until he arrived at Ki urh ma la, originally Ki urh man. Visdelou and others have here greatly confused matters. It is well known that when the dynasty of Kara Khitai was destroyed by Jingsi Khan, it revived again on a smaller scale in the Persian province of Kerman, and continued there for some time. Visdelou has confused the older and younger dynasty together, and has made one out of them, and has, further, made the originator of the dynasty take his title in Kerman, in this relying on the above sentence. But it is quite incredible that the Kara Khitai should have traversed Khora-

¹ *ibid.* p. 154.

³ *ibid.* p. 236.

² See Raverty's Notes to the Tabakat i Nasiri, p. 154.

⁴ Nouveau Journal Asiatique, vol. ii. p. 299.

san and the wastes of Central Persia, and found their way into Kerman, without a hint about it from any of the Persian historians. Nor can we conjecture a reason for such a march, nor why he should have returned again to Turkestan if it had been made. Klaproth, with an instinct that solved many riddles in Asiatic history, saw this clearly enough, and it is to him I owe the real solution of the difficulty. The *Ki urh ma la* of the Chinese Annals is not Kerman in the south of Persia, but Karminiyah, a town situated between Bokhara and Samarkand, mentioned by Abulfeda.¹ It was there the Khan arrived, and it was there that he was proclaimed emperor, according to the Chinese, on the fifth day of the second month of the year *Kia tchin* (*i.e.* of the Green Dragon, 305),² that is, in 1124. He was then thirty-eight years of age, and he took the Tatar title of Gur Khan, a title of which the great Timur himself was so proud, and which we find on his coins, the legend on them reading thus: "Emir Timur Gur Khan."³

According to Klaproth, this title designated in Central Asia, where it was native, those independent Princes who were allied by marriage with the Emperors of China,⁴ and is, therefore, equivalent to son-in-law, and hereditary in the dynasty of Kara Khitai. Rashid says, it means the honoured Emperor;⁵ Abulghazi, Great Emperor. The Manchu history of the Liao dynasty states that, in the language of the people who lived north of the Shamo desert, it was the honorary title of the Emperor.⁶ Besides the title of Gur Khan, which was given him by his followers, he also took the Chinese one of *Thien yeou wangti*, *i.e.* Emperor aided by the sky, and gave the years of his reign the title of *Yen king*, that is to say, extended felicity.⁷ According to Chinese custom, he gave his dead father the title of Emperor, and his mother that of Empress, while his father's concubine, *Siao chi*, was given the title of *Chao-tih-hwang-how*.⁸ He then addressed his

¹ *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vol. ii. p. 305, note. See also *Journal Asiatique*, sixth series, vol. vii. p. 284, etc.

² *Visdelou*, p. 34. ³ *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vol. ii. p. 295. ⁴ *ibid.* p. 297.

⁵ *ibid.* p. 299. ⁶ *ibid.* p. 305. ⁷ *ibid.* p. 305; *Visdelou*, p. 31.

⁸ Mr. Douglas's note.

comrades thus: "I have traversed rivers and floods, roads and deserts. I have suffered great fatigues by day and night. At length, supported by the goodness of my ancestors and your strong arms, I have been raised from a humble position to that of Wang ti. It is just that I should confer titles on your fathers and ancestors who are dead, so that you may share my honour and glory." He accordingly gave titles to the ancestors of Siao wa li la (*i.e.* the chief of the Uighurs) and forty-eight other chiefs, according to their rank and services.¹ After remaining at Kermaniyah for a year, the Gur Khan returned eastward for a space of twenty days' journey, when he found a fertile country, where he built a town, to which he gave the name of Hu-sun-go-urh-to, originally Huszehan urh to, which he made his capital.²

In the Si yu lu, containing an account of the travels of Yelu Chutsai to the court of Jingis, it is said that west of a large river called Ilie (*i.e.* the Ili) is the city of Husze wo lu do, the capital of the Si liao;³ wo lu do, or urh to, is merely the Chinese form of the Mongol ordu, or camp, which we meet in other names of cities, such as Sira ordu, etc., etc., while Husze is explained by Visdelou as a corruption of Khos, meaning strong.⁴ Dr. Bretschneider says that hosun in Manchu means strength (*loc. cit.*). The name therefore means merely strong city. Abulghazi has twisted it into Hadji tarkhan, or Astrakhan, which was far away from Kara Khitai. Klaproth⁵ identifies it more probably with Kashgar. The capital of Kara Khitai is otherwise known as Balasaghun, which merely means "the city." The site of Balasaghun has been much debated. It was the capital of the ancient Turkish Khans of Turkestan. I have examined the question at some length in the second volume of the "Geographical Magazine," and have ventured to identify it with the city of Equius mentioned in the travels of Rubruquis, which was, I believe, on the same site as the ruins known as Sari Kurgan, or the Yellow Mounds,

¹ Visdelou, p. 31; De Mailla's editor, *op. cit.* vol. viii. p. 420, note.

² Note by Mr. Douglas; Visdelou, p. 31.

³ Bretschneider, p. 114, note 24.

⁴ *id.* p. 298, note 1.

⁵ Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, vol. ii. p. 297.

otherwise known as It Kichu, and situated on the river Chu, which, we know, flowed through the heart and centre of the Kara Khitai country. I am pleased to find that Dr. Bretschneider has, independently, arrived at the conclusion that "the great city" was on the Chu. Closely dependent on the capital city were the two towns of Kosan and Ba ze ka, which were both surrendered to Jingis Khan, and were then governed by Ho ze manli, who was a native of Guze ordu. The former is identified by Dr. Bretschneider with Kosan, a small town of Ferghana, mentioned by Sultan Baber in his Memoirs. It is marked on an ancient Chinese map as south-east of Tashkend.¹

An important mint of the Ilek Khans of Turkestan, who were displaced by the Gur Khans, was at Uzkend, a city on the Lower Jaxartes, not to be confounded with Uzkend on the Upper Jaxartes, which still remains, and was visited by M. Fedchenko. Coins minted there by the Ilek Khans have been published by the great Russian numismatist Fræhn. When Turkestan passed into the hands of the Kara Khitai, Uzkend became their treasure city, as we shall see presently.

The Kara Khitai possessed several towns north of the Chu. The most northern of these was their first settlement, Emil or Imil. This town was situated on the river Imil, which falls into lake Alakul, and was, doubtless, on the site of Chughuchak, whose name was changed in the last century by the Manchu Emperor into Tarbhogatai. It is mentioned by the traveller Carpini in the thirteenth century. He calls it "the town of Emil, in the territory of the Black Khitai." According to him, it was restored by the Mongol Khan Ogotai,² who made it the capital of his special Ulus or Khanat. D'Ohsson describes him and his son Kuyuk as returning homewards when they turned their steps towards the Imil. Carpini himself passed through it, and was entertained in the Imperial palace, and met two of the Grand Khan's sons there.³ It is doubtless the town called Yeman in the Si shi ki.

¹ Notes on Chinese Mediaeval Travellers, p. 114, note 24.

² Davezac, pp. 648 and 751.

³ Davezac, p. 751.

The Emil country, according to Dr. Bretschneider, is famed for its pastures. He also says that he was told by Captain Matussofsky that there are ruins of an ancient city there.¹

Another important town of the Kara Khitai was Kayalik or Kabalik, which also became one of the principal towns of the Ulus of Ogotai. It was probably situated on the site of the present Russian station of Kopal, which name is not improbably a corruption of Kobalik or Kabalik.

The valleys of the Chu and the Lower Ili and the vast plains that border the Balkhash on the south-west seem to have been the principal camping ground of the Kara Khitai. Their empire extended southwards to the Oxus; but the part between that river and the Jaxartes, Transoxiana in fact, was really an appanage ruled, immediately, by the dispossessed Khan of Turkestan, who had his seat of empire at Samarkand. North of the Jaxartes, their country extended to the Alakul lake and the valley of the Emil. It was probably bounded on the west by the Sea of Balkhash and the Steppe of Karakorum, and on the east by the Alatau range, beyond which were the dependent Khanats of Alma-ligh and Bishbaligh. On the north they were bordered by the Naimans and Kazaks, and on the west by the Kankalis.

Let us now resume our story. The same year in which Yelu Taishi founded Hu sun go urh to, he changed the title of his regnal years from Yen king to Kham kue, *i.e.* Pacific kingdom. He then, in the same year, in the third month, appointed commanders for his army, which consisted of 70,000 horsemen. He made Siao wa li la, the king of the six courts, generalissimo over the whole, both infantry and cavalry; and Siao cha lun po, of the Tih la tribe, he made his deputy; and to Tulu, of the Cha cha li tribe, and Ye lu yen shan, he gave subordinate ranks; and Ye lu tih urh ko, originally Teeko, was also given another rank.²

Having sacrificed a black calf and a white horse to the sky and earth, he raised his standard, collected his army

¹ *op. cit.* p. 70.

² Mr. Douglas's note; De Mailla's editor, vol. viii. p. 420, note.

together, and thus harangued them: "Our great dynasty of Liau was founded by its two first emperors with great trouble. Their successors gave themselves up without bounds to pleasure and debauchery, without caring for the government of their empire. Robbers and plunderers arose in great quantities. The whole earth (*i.e.* the Chinese Empire) was confused like the earth when subject to an earthquake. I placed myself at your head, and have traversed all Tatary in the hope of re-establishing this great empire, and of acquiring the glory of a restorer. This is not a country where either you or I can remain." He then ordered Siao wa li lu to march at once, to recompense the deserving, to punish the criminals, to divide the sweet and the pleasant with his troops, to choose for his camp places abounding in water and grass, to measure the enemy's forces before attacking him, and to beware of a disastrous defeat.

The object of the expedition was no doubt to dispossess the Kin Tatars. The troops set out on their march eastwards, but advanced for 10,000 *li* without capturing any booty. The greater part of the cattle and horses died, and it was obliged to return. The Gur Khan remarked upon this misadventure, that the sky was unpropitious.¹ In the year 1130 we are told that the Uighurs of Hohan captured Su pa tu li thu thie, a partisan of Yelu Taishi, and sent him as a prisoner to the Kin Emperor.² During the next year (*i.e.* 1131) we read that news of the rapid increase of the power of Yelu Taishi spread in the east, and made the Kin Tatars fear that he would make an effort to wrest their empire from them. It was reported in 1131 that they approached the frontier of Ho chau. They accordingly sent word to the kings of Hia, who were kings of that country, to march against and to capture them. He replied that he was unaware that Yelu Taishi had formed such an empire as was mentioned; but if he had, it was far from his borders. Dissatisfied with this answer, the Kin Tatars sent an army under the command of Yelu yutu, a member of the Liau Imperial family, who had sided with them, to make inquiries; and, to secure his fidelity,

¹ Visdelou, pp. 31-32.

² *ibid.* p. 256.

they retained his wife and children as hostages. He advanced as far as the town of Hotong of the Mopé, north of the Shamo desert, and more than 3000 *li* from Yun chong, and was well supplied with provisions, which were levied upon the provinces of Yen, Yun and Hotong; but its only result, apparently, was the death of a large number of the inhabitants of those provinces who suffered from the levies made on them.¹

The Gur Khan was unfortunate, as we have seen, in his eastern campaign, but he was more lucky elsewhere, and we are told by Juveni that he placed governors in all the provinces from Kum Kidjik (? Kuman Kaptchak) as far as Barserdjan, and from Taraz to Tamidj (*i.e.* Tamghalj or China). He subdued the Kankalis, Kashgar, and Khotan, and then took vengeance on the Kirghises. Bishbaligh, Ferghana, and Turkestan obeyed him; while the ancestors of the Sultan Osman were his vassals.²

After the various conquests just named, he turned his arms towards Khuarezm, against which, we are told, "he sent his general Ernuz, who devastated the country with fire and sword. Atsiz, the Khuarezm Shah, at length offered his submission to Ernuz, and undertook to pay the Gur Khan an annual tribute of 30,000 *dinars*, besides a tribute in kind of cattle and goods. Ernuz thereupon granted him peace and retired, and the Gur Khan soon after died."³ The Khuarezm Shah, Atsiz, was the third of that dynasty, and his full name was Malik Jelal ud din Utsiz. He reigned from the year 521, and died in the year 551 of the Hejra ⁴ (*i.e.* 1121-1151). The Gur Khan died in the year 1136.⁵ This is the date in the Chinese authors, and is in very close accord with that given by the Persians. Fa sih i says he died in 536 H.;⁶ Guzidah says in 535 H.; and the Mun-takhab ut Tawarikh says in 536 H.⁷

¹ De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 421, note.

² D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 442.

³ Juveni, quoted by D'Ohsson, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 442.

⁴ The Tabakat i Nasiri, pp. 236-238.

⁵ De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 421, note; Visselou, *op. cit.* p. 35.

⁶ Tabakat i Nasiri, p. 238.

⁷ *ibid.* p. 155.

Yelu Taishi fills a notable place in Asiatic history, and may be ranked among the fortunate conquerors of the world's history. In a very short time he succeeded in founding an empire which stretched from the borders of China to those of the Caspian, and by consolidating and welding together the many small Turkish communities of Central Asia, greatly facilitated the course of Jingis Khan, whose predecessor in the Empire of Asia he may well claim to have been. After his death he was given the title of Te tsun, *i.e.* the venerable virtuous one, as his title of apotheosis. He left a son named Yili, but he was too young to undertake the government, and Yelu Taishi nominated his Empress as regent. Her name was Ta hu yen, and she bore the title of Kan thien hoam heou, *i.e.* the Empress who propitiates the sky. She gave the name of Hien tsin (*i.e.* complete purity) to the years of her reign. She reigned for seven years,¹ after which, namely, in 1142 or 1143, her son Yelu Yili mounted the throne. He had a census made of his people who were over eighteen years old, and there were found to be 84,500 families paying tribute, without counting the officials, literati or soldiers.² He gave the years of his reign the honorary name of Chao hin, or continued exaltation, and died after a reign of thirteen years. This was in 1155 or 1156, and his posthumous title was Gin tsun, or the venerable charitable one.³

The Khuarezm Shah Atsiz reigned from 1121 to 1151. He was succeeded by his son Iyal Arslan, and it is he who is made by the Tabakat i Nasiri to conclude a treaty with the infidels of Kara Khitai, whereby he stipulated to pay a certain fixed tribute annually.⁴ Having afterwards, and in his seventh year, failed to pay this tribute, the ruler of Kara Khitai sent a force against him and defeated him. Iyal Arslan died from the effects of a disorder contracted during this war.⁵

¹ Visdelou, *op. cit.* p. 32; De Mailla says eight, *op. cit.* vol. viii. p. 422.

² De Mailla, *ibid.* p. 32.

⁴ *op. cit.* p. 238.

³ Visdelou, *op. cit.* p. 31.

⁵ *ibid.* p. 239, note 8.

Yelu Yili, on dying, left two infant sons, and he, accordingly, appointed his sister, Pu-so-wan, as regent. She gave the years of her reign the honorary name of Tsun fu (*i.e.* high felicity), and took the title of Tsin-thien-hoan-heou (*i.e.* the Empress obedient to the sky).¹

It would seem that on Iyal Arslan's death there was some confusion in Khuarezm. By his will he left the throne to his son Sultan Shah, and as he was a mere boy, his mother, Malikah Turkan, conducted his affairs. Takish, who was an elder son by a different mother, resented this, and rebelled; this was in 567 of the Hejra. He sought aid from the Khan i Khānān or Great Khan of Kara Khitai. According to the Tabakat i Nasiri, the latter's wife (really his sister) at that time held the sovereignty, and Takish entered into an alliance with her. "Having reached her territory, he agreed to make over to her the treasures and revenues of Khuarezm as soon as he, by her aid, should obtain possession of it, and afterwards to pay a yearly tribute. A numerous army was accordingly sent along with Takish to put him in possession, upon which Sultan Shah and his mother abandoned Khuarezm and joined Malik Umayyid i Aimakdur wali of Khorasan, and Takish obtained possession of Khuarezm. This happened in 568,"² and, if this date is correct, the sovereign of Kara Khitai, with whom he came in contact, was the Empress Pu-so-wan. It would seem that, some time after, hostilities broke out between Takish and his ally, the female sovereign of Kara Khitai. She and the Sultan Ghiyas ud din Ghuri both assisted Sultan Shah against him.³ We are told he repaired to Maver al Nahar and Turkestan, and told the ruler of Kara Khitai that the Khuarezmiens were well affected towards him, and, by this means, obtained an army from him, but, on reaching Khuarezm, they were undeceived and determined to retire. He then obtained a body of troops from them, who marched with him against Sarakhs in Khorasan. With their assistance he defeated the Ghuzy tribes, who were encamped in its neighbourhood, after which Sultan Shah marched to Merv,

¹ Visdelou, *op. cit.* p. 32.

² *ibid.* p. 240, note.

³ *ibid.* p. 240, note.

and took up his quarters there, and dismissed the Kara Khitai to their own territory.¹

This was apparently only an episode in the reign of Takish, for we are told that he was in firm alliance with the Khitai, and that he enjoined his son never to quarrel with the Gur Khan, who was a bulwark in his rear against enemies beyond, whom he should not break down.² Takish died in Ramazan, 596 of the Hejra, *i.e.* in August, 1200,³ and was succeeded by his son the Sultan Ala ud din Muhammed, who made himself master of Herat and Balkh and the whole province of Khorasan, and shortly after, of Mazanderan and Kerman also.⁴ He now felt strong enough to measure arms with the Gur Khan, who, since the great defeat of Sultan Sanjar, had been master of the district of Maver al Nahar.⁵ It would seem that the Gur Khans did not actually displace the old Turkish chiefs, and we find that while they reigned supreme at Balasaghun, other lesser chiefs have continued to rule at Bishbalig, etc. Thus the old royal race of the Turkish Sultans of Turkestan still held subordinate authority at Samarkand. It was this chief, who had become discontented with his master, who now solicited his assistance. He also had his grievance, namely, that the agents of the Gur Khan were constantly pressing him for the arrears of tribute due from him under the treaty made between Takish and the Gur Khans.⁶ The chief of Bokhara was a *parvenu* named Sanjar Malik. That city was speedily conquered, and he met with his deserts. Samarkand was held by Osman, of the race of Afrasiab, and of the family of Bagra Khan, that is, of the race of the old Turkish chiefs of Turkestan. He had solicited the hand of a daughter of the Gur Khan, and, having been refused, had become his secret enemy. Although only a dependent of the Gur Khan, he still retained the lordly title held by his ancestors, namely, that of "Sultan of Sultans."

¹ *ibid.* p. 246.

² Von Hammer, Golden Horde, p. 73; Tabakat i Nasiri, p. 244, note 4.

³ D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 180.

⁴ Tabakat i Nasiri, p. 244, note 3.

⁵ Tabakat i Nasiri, p. 244, note 4.

⁶ Tabakat i Nasiri, p. 260, note 7.

⁶ *ibid.*

Having consulted with him, Muhammed returned to Khwarezm, to prepare for the campaign.¹ This was in the year 606 H.

Meanwhile, let us turn our view, once more, to the rulers of Kara Khitai.

The Empress Pusuwan had married Siaotolupo.² She did not care for him, and carried on an intrigue with his younger brother Pukutsisali. She then, under pretence of raising her husband to the rank which her brother, the late Emperor, had chosen for him, raised him to the position of prince.³ She then charged him with a commission outside the kingdom, and while he was away contrived to have him assassinated. Upon this his father, Siao wa li la, invested her in the palace. She thereupon, to prove her innocence, shot Pukutsisali with an arrow.⁴ Visdelou says that both were killed by Siao wa li la. She had reigned fourteen years. She was succeeded by Chikulu, the second son of Yelu Yili. He gave the years of his reign the name of Tien hii (*i.e.* celestial happiness).⁵

In the year 1203, Jingis Khan defeated and killed Tayang Khan, the chief of the Eastern Naimans, and his son Gushlug took refuge with his uncle Buyuruk, the Khan of the Western Naimans.⁶ In 1206, Jingis Khan attacked Buyuruk, and the latter was also defeated and killed near the river Sudja. Gushlug once more fled towards the country of the Irtysh.⁷ In the autumn of 1208, he was pursued there by the Mongol troops and again defeated. This time he fled southward, and, passing by way of Bishbaligh, he arrived in the district of Kudja (a small town situated to the west of Kharashar), and thence found his way to the Court of the Gur Khan.⁸

The Gur Khan Chikulu was a frivolous person, chiefly occupied in hunting, and at the time when Gushlug arrived

¹ *ibid.*

² Siao seems to have been the family name of the Uighur royal family, and his father is called Siao wa li la by Visdelou.

³ Visdelou says he was named King of the East. ⁴ De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 422.

⁵ Visdelou, *op. cit.* p. 32.

⁶ D'Ohsson, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 90.

⁷ *ibid.* p. 101.

⁸ D'Ohsson, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 105; Von Hammer, Golden Horde, p. 69.

at his Court was rapidly losing his authority, while the sun of the great Asiatic conqueror was as rapidly rising. It would seem that, while the various Turkish dependencies were allowed to continue in the hands of their own princes, the Gur Khans had their deputies or commissaries there to collect tribute and to otherwise represent them. These officers were named Darughas. At this time the darugha or commissary, who represented him at the Court of the Uighurs, was one of his nawkors called Chadkeme or Shukema, and he had rendered himself very unpopular by his tyranny and exactions.¹ The Idikut or chief of the Uighurs, who was then called Baurchik or Bardjuk,² had Chadkeme put to death at Kara Khodja in the spring of 1209. He then sent envoys to Jingis Khan offering him his submission, thus fairly breaking away from his former suzerain. Jingis sent envoys to him in turn, asking him to go to him in person, and accordingly, when he returned home from his campaign in Tangut in 1211, he found the King of the Uighurs there, who offered him rich presents, and in return received the hand of Altun Bigui, a daughter of the great conqueror, in marriage, and was permitted to style himself his fifth son.³ At the same time, Jingis received the submission of another vassal of the Gur Khan, namely, of Arslan Khan, of the Karluks. Arslan married a princess of the house of Jingis.⁴

While his vassals were thus falling away from him in the East, the Gur Khan's power nearer home was being rapidly shattered. Gushlug had married his daughter, and he now began to conspire against him. Having detached several of his generals from their allegiance, he asked permission to go and collect the *debris* of the Naimans, who still wandered in the country of Imil of Kayalik and Bishbaligh, assuring him that he only wanted to employ them in his service. The Gur Khan gladly allowed him to do so, and conferred

¹ Abulghazi, ed. Desen, vol. ii. p. 93.

² Abulghazi, p. 41; D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 109; he is styled Partchukorte Tekin by Gaubil, p. 13; Baitchu ar the by Visdelou; and Bartehu Arte by Klaproth; *Memoires Relatifs à l'Asie*, vol. ii. p. 335; see D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 109, note 1.

³ D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 111; Abulghazi, p. 94.

⁴ D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 111.

on him at the same time the title of Gushlug Khan (*i.e.* in Turkish, powerful prince¹). His old people did in fact gather round him, and he was also joined by a prince of the Merkits; and as they enriched themselves by making raids upon the territory of Kara Khitai, this in turn attracted fresh recruits to his banners. But he was hardly strong enough to cope with the Gur Khan alone, so he began to intrigue with the Khuarezm Shah Muhammed, whom he offered the dominion over the western provinces of Kara Khitai as a reward.

I have already described how the latter and Osman, Prince of Samarkand, had been plotting together. It was not very grateful of him, for, according to Juveni, the Gur Khan had sent a contingent of 10,000 men to his assistance in his struggle with Shihab ud din, the prince of Ghur, who defeated the Ghurians near Audkhud.² It would seem that Osman had fairly broken away from his allegiance, and had probably acknowledged the supremacy of Muhammed; hence, we now hear of an army of Kara Khitaians marching against him. Muhammed, in turn, marched to support him, but before his arrival the Kara Khitaians had retired to make head against Gushlug. The latter had taken advantage of the absence of his father-in-law, the Gur Khan, to pillage his treasury at Uzkend, an old stronghold of the Khans of Turkestan, where they had a mint. He also essayed to surprise Balasaghun. The Gur Khan, however, who was now an old man, joined battle with and completely defeated him on the banks of the Chinbudje, and took a large number of prisoners. Gushlug upon this retired.³

Muhammed now invaded the dominions of the Gur Khan in concert with Osman and other vassals. They crossed the Jaxartes and advanced towards Taraz, where they were met by Baniko or Taniko of Taraz ("famous as Jai timur, son of Kalduz, elder brother of Burak the chamberlain, who subsequently usurped the Government of Kirman"), the Commander-in-chief of the Gur Khan's army. An obstinate

¹ D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 166.² D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 443.³ D'Ohsson, vol. i. pp. 167-168.

battle ensued in Rabi ul Awwal, 607 H., in which Baniko was captured, and a vast booty fell into the hands of the victor, who now took the title of "the Second Alexander."¹ Baniko was a famous general, and we are told he had been victorious in forty-five encounters, had defeated Sultan Sanjar, son of Malik Shah, and also Sultan Muiz ud din Muhammad i Sam, before Audkhud.² Baniko was wounded in the fight, and left with only a slave-girl standing over him. A Khuarezmian soldier came up, and was about to cut off his head, when she told him who he was. He was accordingly taken before Muhammed, and afterwards sent on to Khuarezm as a trophy with the bulletin announcing the victory. When Muhammed returned home after his victory, he ordered Baniko to be put to death, and his body was thrown into the river.³ After this battle, Muhammed marched against the Malik of Otrar, who had refused to break off his connexion with the Gur Khan. His chiefs, however, on the approach of Muhammed, forced him to submit. We are told he came out clothed in a winding sheet and with a sword hanging about his neck, but was pardoned on condition that he migrated with his family, kinsmen and dependents to Nisa in Khorasan, and Muhammed placed a governor of his own at Otrar. After this he returned to Samarkand, where he bestowed one of his daughters upon Osman, and left a darugha or intendant there. He did not remain long at home, for disaffection began to show itself among the remaining vassals of the Gur Khan at Jund, who, it would seem, sided with him against Muhammed and his protégé, for we are told that after exterminating these rebels, Osman and his family took up their residence in Khuarezm, and some authors say he was soon after put to death.

News now arrived that the Gur Khan, with 30,000 men, had advanced on Samarkand, and Muhammed was hastening to relieve it, when the Gur Khan was again recalled to make head against Gushlug. Muhammed marched on to Anak (or Inak, or Ighnak, says Raverty, probably Sighnak),

¹ Tabakat i Nasiri, p. 260, note 7.

² *ibid.* p. 261, text.

³ *ibid.* p. 261, note 8.

the ruler of which was in alliance with the Gur Khan. He had been summoned to submit on very favourable terms, but had refused; he was, however, compelled to come to terms.

The Sultan had traitors in his camp. The governor of Samarkand and the Asfahed (a title borne by the Malik of Tabaristan and Rustamdur) sent agents to the Gur Khan offering to desert the Sultan on the day of battle, if, in case of success, the former should have Khuarezm and the latter Khorasan as the price of their treachery. This was agreed on, and during the battle, when the left wing of the Khitais attacked the right wing of the Khuarezmians, the two princes retired from the field, and the Sultan's right wing was broken. In the mean time his left wing broke the right of the Khitais, and the centres of the two armies fell on each other. The wings on either side began to plunder, and neither party knew whether they were the conquerors or conquered. It was usual for the Sultan to disguise himself on the day of battle by dressing in the costume of the enemy, and on this occasion, in the utter confusion which ensued, the centres of both armies having become disengaged from one another, the Sultan got mixed up with the enemy's troops, and, not being recognized by his attendants for some time, was in the greatest danger, in fact, in the very camp of the enemy. He, however, managed to get away, and reached Fenaket. The news of his disappearance, however, had spread all over his dominions, some said he had been killed, others that he had been taken prisoner. As soon as he rejoined his army, messengers were sent out everywhere to intimate his safety, and he returned to Khuarezm to prepare for a fresh campaign.¹

On the retreat of the Khitai forces, they proceeded to pillage their own people, and devastated the country until they reached Balasaghun, or Ghu balik. On reaching this place they found its gates shut against them, the inhabitants making sure that Muhammed would soon be there, and doubtless weary of obeying a foreigner both in blood and

¹ Raverty's note to the *Tabakat i Nasiri*, pp. 263-264, chiefly taken from *Ya fa i*.

creed. The place was attacked, and, after sixteen days, was captured and its inhabitants put to the sword, to the number of 47,000, while the town was given up to pillage for three days and nights, and a vast booty fell into the hands of the troops.¹ It was probably destroyed, for it is not named in the account of the campaigns of Jingis, nor at any time afterwards, so far as I know.

The Gur Khan's finances were at a low ebb, due probably to the recent pillage of his treasury, and Mahmud Beg, one of his generals, who was very rich, fearing that he would have to make some sacrifices, suggested that the leaders of the army should surrender to him some of the booty, which apparently consisted partly of what Gushlug had captured. The chiefs of the army dissented from this, and retired in a rage. Profiting by this, Gushlug returned, and surprised the Gur Khan, and took him prisoner. The Chinese accounts say he was surprised when hunting, and fell into an ambuscade of 8000 Hoei hu or Uighurs who had been planted by Gushlug to way-lay him.²

He appropriated the Gur Khan's titles, and had himself proclaimed Emperor, at the same time adopting the costume and customs of the Liau. He gave the title of Tai chang hoang (in Chinese, the very great, supreme, august one) to Chi lu ku, and to the Empress, wife of Chi lu ku, the title of Hoang thai heou (*i.e.* the august and very great queen), the title of the Empress dowager in China, and so long as they lived he paid his respects to them twice daily.³ Chi lu ku only survived his deposition for two years. The date of his deprivation, according to the Persian historians, was in 1211 or 1212. The Chinese put it ten years earlier, in 1201.⁴

I have described how some of the eastern vassals of the Gur Khan had recently made over their allegiance to Jingis Khan. Gushlug, who succeeded to the position of his father-in-law, naturally resented this, and we are told that he marched against one of them, namely, the Khan of Almaligh, several times, and eventually surprised him when

¹ Tabakat i Nasiri, p. 264, note; D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 168.

² Visdelou, p. 32.

³ Visdelou, p. 32.

⁴ D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 169.

hunting, and put him to death.¹ Jingis Khan nominated his son Siknak Tikin to succeed him.² Gushlug now set at liberty the son of the Chief of Kashgar, who had been taken prisoner by the Gur Khan, and sent him home; but on his arrival at the gates of Kashgar he was put to death. Gushlug now sent troops against Kashgar, which ravaged its environs several times during harvest time, and at length compelled the inhabitants, who were pressed by famine, to surrender.³ D'Ohsson says he had been brought up a Christian, like the greater part of his race. This is doubtless stated on the authority of Rubruquis. I have dissected the evidence in my History of the Mongols, and also the ingenious theory of Dr. Oppert that the Gur Khan of Kara Khitai is to be identified with Prester John. I believe I have shown that theory to be quite untenable. Gushlug was probably, like the Gur Khans, his predecessors, a Buddhist, and we are told that when he had conquered the country of Khotan, he summoned the Muhammedans there and wished to compel them to abjure their faith. He issued a proclamation, in which he summoned the Mussulman doctors to assemble under the walls of the city, and to dispute with him on their faith. Upon this the Chief Imam Ala ud din Muhammed went and defended Islamism with some warmth. The Khan having in his excitement used phrases insulting to Muhammed, the Imam indignantly replied: "May the earth cover thy tongue, thou enemy of the true faith!" He was thereupon seized by order of Gushlug, and having been tortured to compel him to apostatize, he was crucified at the gate of his own college. Gushlug afterwards persecuted the Mussulmans rigorously.⁴ But his reign was not a long one. A more terrible enemy was upon his heels. This was Jingis Khan, who, after subduing the various tribes of Mongolia and also the Naimans, now turned against the usurper of the throne of Kara Khitai, incited, doubtless, by the persecuted Mussulmans, as he was shortly after incited to march against

¹ D'Ohsson, vol. i. pp. 111-170; Erdmann's Temujin, p. 246.

² Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 246.

³ D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 171.

⁴ D'Ohsson, vol. i. pp. 170-171.

the Khuarezm Shah Muhammed by the Khalif himself. He accordingly detached an army under the command of Chepe Noyan, one of his most renowned generals. He marched upon Kashgar, where Gushlug then resided, Balasaghun having been probably destroyed, as I have mentioned. Chepe, on approaching the city, proclaimed the liberty of worship, and the inhabitants proceeded to massacre the soldiers of Gushlug who were billeted upon them. Gushlug himself was pursued and overtaken in a valley named Sarigh kul, in the mountains of Badakhshan, and was there executed.¹ We are told that he erected a monument on the banks of the river Kondurga, with a Mongol inscription, *i.e.* one in the Uighur character, as a talisman against the Elu or Elohim (*i.e.* the spirits of the river). Chepe sent his master, Jingis Khan, a thousand horses with white muzzles, in restitution of a horse of his of that colour which he had once killed.²

Thus ended the shortlived but powerful dynasty of Kara Khitai. It was revived again on a small scale in Kerman, and continued to flourish there for a few generations, but its history is no part of my subject. In the next paper of this series I hope to examine the Origines of the Kin or Golden Tatars.

¹ Abulghazi, ed. Desmaisons, p. 102; D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 172.

² Von Hammer's Golden Horde, p. 73.

ART. VIII.—*Inedited Arabic Coins.* By STANLEY LANE POOLE.

SECOND NOTICE.

(Continued from Vol. VII. p. 261.)

11. GOLD. SALJÚKÍ. *Takash-Bég.*Mint obliterated. A.H. 466. (*British Museum.*)

Obverse Area.

سلطان

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

ملك شاه

Margin.

لله الامر النج

Reverse Area.

له

محمد

رسول الله

القائم بامر الله

تكش بكت

On either side of لله, cross.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار ست وستين

(اربعة مائة (sic)

(Silver plated with gold.)

Takash-Bég, whose name must be familiar to every reader of Muhammedan history, was a son of Alp-Arslán, and brother

of Malik-Sháh. I am not aware that any coin bearing his name has hitherto been published.

12. GOLD. SHÁH OF MAZANDARÁN. *Rustam ibn 'Alí ibn Shahriyár.*

Mint *Sábúr*? A.H. 551 or 552. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
المقتفى لامر
الله

Above, ornament.

Margin الدينار بسابو وخمسين

Rev. Area.

محمد
السلطان الاعظم
معز الدنيا والدين
ابو الحرب سنجر
بن ملك شاه
خان

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

The date is limited to one of the two years 551 and 552 by the fact that the Sultán Sinjar, whose name appears on the coin, died in 552. Rustam ibn 'Alí is mentioned by Ibn-al-Athír as engaging in some warlike expedition in 552; and the same historian records his death in 560. He was succeeded by his son, 'Alá-ad-dín Al-Hasan.

13. GOLD. *Malik-al-Umará* كوان or دوان?

Mint *أسب*. A.H. 519. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

والدين
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
الناصر لدين الله
امير المؤمنين

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باسب سنة
تسعة (sio) عشر

(outer). Traces of لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area.

الكامل
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
وسلم ملك
الامرا كوان

Margin. Traces of محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

There appears to be a connexion between the last two letters of the king's name: but the execution of the coin is bad, and the third letter may yet be an alif. I am unable to identify either the name of the king or the mint place.

14. GOLD. ATÁBĒG. *Malik-al-Umarā Sharjū-shāh(?)*.
Shirdz. A.H. 519. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

سرحو
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
المتشدد (sio) بالله
شاه

Margin. ذ (sic) الدينار بشيراز سنة تسع عشر

No outer margin visible.

Rev. Area.

رسول الله

محمد

بسم الله

معز الدنيا

والدين

ومغيث الدنيا

والدين

Margin illegible.

15. GOLD. *Same prince.*

Mint obliterated. A.H. 520. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. and reverse areas as on 14.

Obv. Margin (inner). بسم الله . . . الدينار . . . سنة عشرين . . . مائة
(outer). Illegible.

Rev. Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهري ودين الحق ليظهره على
الدين كله

16. GOLD. *Same prince.*

Shiraz. A.H. 521. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area as on 14: but سرحو beneath and شاء above.

Margin (inner). يزار بشيراز سنة احدى وعشرين وخمس
(outer). Traces of الامر الخ لله

Rev. Area.

والدين

محمد

رسول الله

معز الدنيا

والدين ومغيث

الدنيا

Margin illegible.

17. GOLD. *Same prince.*

Mint obliterated. A.H. 524.

(*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

عدل
لا اله الا
الله
لا شريك
سبحو شاه
اتابك

Margin (inner). را ستة اربع عشرين وخمسا

(outer).

الله الامر الخ

Rev. Area as on 16.

Margin as on 15.

18. SILVER. *Khusrah-Shah.*

Mint doubtful. A.H. 361.

(*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
المطيع لله

Margin (inner). بسم الله ضرب هذا . . . درهم بالركا (?) سنة . . .

احدى وستين وثلاثمائة

(outer).

الله الامر الخ

Rev. Area.

الله
محمد رسول
الله الملك
خسرة شاه
بن ماباكر (?)

Margin illegible.

(Pierced.)

19. SILVER. *Same prince.*

Mint doubtful. A.H. 363. (*British Museum.*)

Same as 18, except date (سنة ثلاث وستين وثلاث مائة) (بالروك)

and rev. margin (محمد رسول الله الخ).

It is with regret that I leave so many points presented by these coins without arriving at any solution of the difficulties presented by them. The names of *Khusrah-Sháh*, the Atábég *Sharjú-Sháh* (?), and *Kawán* (?), are, so far as I am at present in a position to judge, unknown to history. Nor have I met with the mints أسب and الر فكا (?). Perhaps some scholar with more leisure and more historical materials than I have, may be able to throw some light on the subject.

ART. IX.—*On the Form of Government under the Native Sovereigns of Ceylon.* By A. DE SILVA EKANÂYAKA, Mudaliyar of the Department of Public Instruction, Ceylon.

THERE being unquestionable historical facts and monumental ruins to testify to a considerable amount of civilization amongst the Sinhalese at an early period of their history, it may not unreasonably be supposed that they had a code of written laws, and a regular Government with a suitable executive. This cannot well be doubted, since it appears that law itself formed, in ancient times, a subject of study in the island. No regular records of these things, however, have come down to us, owing, in all probability, to the wanton destruction of literary records and libraries during the several invasions from the continent of India. Sinhalese historians with one voice deplore the devastations committed by the Cholas about the commencement of the thirteenth century, when the island suffered irreparable losses, both in a literary and political point of view, from the Saracenic fury of the invaders.

The native kings who reigned at Cotta and Kandy, during the time that the Portuguese and the Dutch exercised their sway over the maritime parts of the island, governed the interior provinces upon the basis of the constitution and laws derived from the more ancient kings who reigned in such cities as Anurâdhapura, Pollonnaruwa and Dambadeniya. The principles which guided the later kings were apparently in accordance with the *lex non scripta* of the country, or such customary laws, dating from a remote antiquity, as may in most instances be believed to have originated from ancient written laws of which no record then remained.

As in all countries in the East, the supreme authority, both legislative and executive, in this island centred in the sovereign, whose power was amenable to no fixed constitu-

tional control. It was, nevertheless, limited to a considerable extent by religious opinion, established customs, and priestly interference. Under these restraints the princes of Ceylon seldom ventured on an extreme abuse of power. When inclined to such excess, the favourite courtiers too, who knew that the monarch was more frequently feared than loved, sometimes used their influence to prevent it, lest the patience of the people should become exhausted.

The crown was hereditary, and females were not excluded from the throne, as we find that an Anulâ¹ and a Lîlâwatî respectively swayed the sceptre of Lankâ. Even during the more modern periods of Sinhalese history, the right of females to the regal dignity was neither denied nor disregarded. When the Portuguese became masters of Kandy for a short time, on the death of Râjasinha of Sitawaka in 1592, their general Don Pedro de Sousa proclaimed Dona Caterina (a native princess who had been under their guardianship) as Queen of Kandy, "in order to favour the desire of the Sinhalese;" and Wimaladharma (who was also named Konnappu Bandar and Appuhâmi Don Juan after his conversion to Christianity), when he had defeated the Portuguese in a well-contested battle, married Dona Caterina, "being persuaded that the stability of his kingdom depended on their union," his own title to the throne being very questionable.

Though the King was despotic, he was assisted in the exercise of the functions of Government by a Council of State. This council, we find from a MS. work written towards the close of the reign of Kîrti Srî, was composed of the two Grand Adigârs (Prime Ministers); the Mahâ Mohottâla (Chief Secretary); the four Mahâ Dissâwas (Governors of Provinces), namely, those of Ūwa, Mâtalê, Satkôrala, Hatkôrala; and such of the Dugganna Nilamês (Royal Household Officers) as were Bandâras (sons of chiefs) by birth.

The Sovereign was the head of the national Buddhist

¹ "The infamous Anulâ," as she is called in the MAHAWANSA, who, in the year B.C. 47, after having poisoned her husband and her son, seized upon the throne, was the first female sovereign of Ceylon on record.

religious establishment, and under him it was governed by Chief Priests and their deputies. To reform abuses that might have crept into the established religion of the country, and to bring refractory priests to their duty, a Sangharāja (Pontiff) was occasionally appointed. And it may be remarked that the last individual who held this high office was Weliwitta Saranankara, a son of a Mudaliyar of Tumpanē, during the reign of King Kirti Srī. With his death in 1779, the office itself expired, and has never since been revived.

After the removal of the seat of government to Kandy, there were two Adigārs who were styled *Mahā Nilamēs* (grand officers). They were next in power and dignity to the King. They acted as judges to the *Wahal Habe* (king's court), and also had the command of the guards called *Katupullē*. The usual number of Adigārs was two,¹ both of whom possessed equal powers. The "services" due from the inhabitants of Udagampaha and Pallēgampaha districts under the Rāja-kāriya system having been given to the two Adigārs, they were respectively designated Udagampahē Mahā Nilamē and Pallēgampahē Mahā Nilamē, the former taking precedence of the other. Though an Adigār was very powerful, yet his emoluments and influence being less than those of a Mahā Dissāwa, the Government of a province was added to his office of Adigār. Being Prime Minister also, he resided in the city which was the seat of Government; and, whenever he visited the provinces over which he was Dissāwa, he was required by the laws of Kandy to leave his wife and children as hostages for his good conduct during his absence.

In addition to the great officers who formed the Council of State, every province and district had its *Dissāwa* or *Ratē-mahatmayā*. The Dewāla (Hindu Temple) establishments

¹ The last King of Kandy, Srī Vikrama Rāja Sinha, had a third Adigār called Siya Pattu Mahā Nilamē. This king, in order to fill his treasury, created several new offices, and divided the large Dissāwanies into smaller provinces with Dissāwas appointed to each. This was also one of the proximate causes of the disaffection of his subjects and his unpopularity, which attained their climax in the exasperation caused by his treachery to the troops under Major Davie and other British subjects, and his barbarous cruelties to the family of Ehalepole, and his own subjects, generally; the result being the annexation of the Kandyan provinces by the British in 1815.

had also another class of rulers styled *Basnâyaka Nilamês*, who were secular chiefs appointed for the management of affairs connected with the Dewâla temporalities. These chiefs appear to have been appointed to check to some extent the immense powers with which the provincial governors or Dissâwas were invested. *Basnâyaka Nilamês*, like the *Dissâwas*, paid an annual fee to the *Mahâ Gabadâwa* (Royal Treasury) on their yearly appointments to office; whilst they themselves received similar fees from subordinate head men whom they appointed over temple villages.

All the great officers received their appointments from the sovereign on paying certain stated sums to the Royal Treasury. These appointments were annually renewed at *Perahara*, when the chief officers were required to pay them annual fees, which formed a not inconsiderable part of the king's revenue. In addition to the income thus obtained, the revenue of the Kings of Kandy consisted of the produce of the royal villages, stated presents from the chiefs on three different occasions during the year, confiscation of estates, and dues received on the death of a *Nindagam* proprietor (lord of the manor) called *Marâle*. The *Dissâwas* as vice-roys also received stated sums of money by the appointment of subordinate head men, such as *Kôrâlas*, *Mohottâlas*, and *Widânas*, within their provinces, besides the produce of *mut-tettu* fields (maintenance lands), and in addition to these sources of income, we must not omit to mention the fines which they had the power to impose for petty offences.

The King and all his officers of every grade exacted *Râjakâriya* (king's service) from the inhabitants, partly to themselves and partly to the State. *Râjakâriya* was one of the national institutions sanctioned by ancient usage, and was a kind of feudal tenure of lands. The sovereign was held to be the proprietor of all the landed property of the kingdom, and every family in the island received a portion upon the understanding that every male should perform "service" according to his rank and caste for fifteen days in the year without other payment for his possession. The military force of the country consisted of men who were bound to

perform service as soldiers for possessing fiefs under the King. Adigârs, Dissâwas, and other chief officers had villages or estates given them according to their respective dignities and ranks. Tradesmen, mechanics, and men of inferior castes, such as Dhobies, Tomtom-beaters, Paduwâs, and Palanquin-bearers, had their fiefs, and were obliged to render free service to the King and the superior chiefs. Public works, such as the construction of canals, bridges, roads, irrigation works, etc., were carried out by calling out the inhabitants for Râjakâriya. This being the case, there was no necessity for taxes or other imposts. Though a subject was bound to do service for fifteen days as compensation for the enjoyment of the produce of his lands, it was customary, particularly with the soldiers, to serve fifteen additional days voluntarily. Nevertheless this power which Government officers possessed of calling out the quota of labour was frequently abused; and the only mode of relief from undue exactions consisted in the right allowed to the subject to relinquish the land given to him by the sovereign or the lord of the manor—a right, however, which was very seldom exercised, because such an act on his part would deprive him to some extent of the means of living. The fear of offending the King, or a powerful chieftain, also deterred him from relinquishing his fief for possession of which “service” was due. Owing to the whims and caprices of Dissâwas and other territorial chiefs and head men, to say nothing of the arbitrary legal power with which they were invested, and owing also to the dread of offending these officials, the condition of the lower grades of the people and that of the more enslaved castes was only a little better than that of ordinary serfs of the soil. During the Portuguese and Dutch periods in Ceylon, the Mudaliyars, setting almost every established usage and rule at defiance, exacted Râjakâriya to an unlimited extent, and hence Râjakâriya came to be usually designated *compulsory labour*¹ by Europeans, and *Ookium* by Tamils. Every man not holding high offices being obliged to perform

¹ Râjakâriya was abolished by the English Government. An order of the King in Council, proclaimed September 28th, 1832, abolished compulsory labour in the Colony.

"service" or Râjakâriya to the State, and this obligation being, as it were, hereditary, this institution perpetuated the caste system. In Ceylon, under Sinhalese kings, caste was never a religious institution; but it was enforced and kept up for political purposes. It may be conjectured that Râjakâriya, at least in Ceylon, must have existed prior to caste distinctions, and the former most probably gave rise to the latter.

Though caste is hereditary, yet there was no title or dignity, which, properly speaking, descended from the father to the son, as in countries in the West. One of the prerogatives of the King consisted in the conferring of rank and title on the subject. In ancient times the title of *Situ* appears to have been bestowed on great landlords or merchants of superior castes, whose income enabled them to live in the style of princes. But after the removal of the seat of Government to Dambadeniya, during the reign of Mahâ Vijayabâhu, when the national prosperity of the Sinhalese began to decay, this title seems to have been abolished. The degenerate princes also, in their jealousy and hauteur, shunned to see a subject living in the style of a prince. During the reigns of later kings, the title of *Mudiansê* (Mudaliyar) was conferred on such persons as had secured the good-will of the reigning prince by some service to the country, or who had displayed much valour on the field of battle. Sinhalese kings generally selected Adigârs, Dissâwas, and other chiefs from such families as had been thus ennobled. The recipient of this title was prohibited from carrying loads, climbing trees, etc. He also received a royal grant of land for his maintenance, and was allowed to wear on State occasions a cap and a frilled jacket.¹ A new name was also given to him, e.g. Wæligala Ukkurâla, when made a Mudiansê, would be called Wæligala Jayasundara Mudiansê; or, Hiswelle Dhana-pâlahâmi would be called Arthanâyaka Mudiansê of Hiswelle. This custom of giving a new name when a subject was raised to a dignity is very ancient, and seems to have prevailed in

¹ The Portuguese in the low country, making the title of Mudiansê a military rank, invested its recipient with a sword and belt. The Dutch made it not only a military, but also a civil rank.

most Eastern countries. The readers of the Bible will recollect that when Joseph was raised to the dignity of sub-King under Pharaoh of Egypt, he received the new name of Zaphnathpaaneah; and that Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon conferred new names on Daniel and his companions.

Among a semi-civilized people, it is not to be expected that justice should be administered in its utmost integrity. However, Courts of Law, such as they were, for awarding justice to the injured, and for settling disputes, were amply provided. Among these, the venerable institution of *Gansabâwa* was very prominent. It was a court of arbitration, consisting of the elder and more experienced respectable people of the village, presided over by the *Gâmarâla* or syndic of the village. When a dispute could not be compromised or otherwise settled by the *Gansabâwa*, the suit was instituted in a superior Court. This was called *Dissâwa Naduwa* (Provincial Court). It was presided over by the *Dissâwa* or Governor of the province; and the provincial *Mohottâlas*, generally three or four in number, acted as assessors. The power of the *Dissâwa* in his judicial capacity was limited. He could punish a subject by fines, imprisonment, and whipping. In civil cases he could grant a *Sannasa*, or a decree ordering any one to quit possession of landed property, but he could not revoke any royal grant of land upon a royal *Sannasa*. The highest judicial court in the kingdom was called *Wahal Habe*. This was presided over by either of the *Adigârs*, and was an Appellate Court, to which an appeal lay from the decisions of the *Dissâwani* Court, and its decisions were final.

The *Adigârs* had the power to condemn a criminal to death, but the capital punishment could be carried out by the will and order of the King alone. According to the MS. above referred to, capital punishment was inflicted for the following crimes, namely, murder, high treason, violently assaulting Buddhist priests, wilful destruction of religious edifices and sacred Bo-trees, sacrilege, robbing of the royal treasury, gang robbery (or "dacoiti," as it is called in India) and highway robbery. Persons convicted of these capital crimes were decapitated, or impaled, or hanged. Persons of

higher ranks, all above a Mohottāla, were beheaded. Men of inferior castes were either hanged or impaled after severe whipping. Recourse was occasionally had by enraged tyrants, especially for high treason, to such species of torture as flaying alive, trampling by elephants, starving to death, and burying alive up to the shoulders; but such barbarous punishments, revolting to humanity and the spirit of Buddhism, were very rare, except during the reigns of the later Kings of the Malabar dynasty. The lesser crimes were punished by maiming, heavy fines, whipping, imprisonment, and banishment to distant towns and districts, where fever and other infectious diseases prevailed, such as Bintenna, Pandikkulam, and Teripāhe. Persons guilty of notorious crimes, after being made to wear red flowers and a chain of cow-bones, were led through the streets preceded by tomtom-beaters, the criminal being compelled to proclaim his crime all the while, and at each proclamation he received a kind of knouting, *pætté potta una-pottata enaturu*, "until the skin of the sides came off to the split piece of bamboo." This punishment sometimes preceded impaling, and was called *Wadabera-gæstma*. Common assaults upon men of inferior castes, and disobedience to chiefs and head men, were generally punished by *Ætulpāragæstma*, which consisted of severely beating the back with the open palms of hands.

Persons guilty of crimes against the State, and the established religion of the country, and utter disregard of caste distinctions, were sometimes degraded and made to lose caste, by ordering their countrymen not to eat rice at their houses, and the dhobies and other menials not to render their services to them.

Superstition helped, to a great extent, the judges and magistrates to settle disputes: in doubtful cases recourse was not unfrequently had to ordeals and making of oaths in celebrated temples. The principal ordeal in use consisted in plunging the hands of both complainant and defendant in oil or cow-dung made boiling hot. Robert Knox, in his History of Ceylon, alludes to this practice as being in existence at the time he was a captive in Ceylon.

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